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EDITORIAL

The Federation in the Far East

Though Christianity is passing through an ordeal of fire in every part of the world, that ordeal is probably fiercest in the Far East. The judgment bar before which Twentieth Century Western Protestant Christianity has been called is in the Orient. The judgment which is being passed is not a judgment upon Jesus Christ nor upon the New Testament but rather upon the life and faith of the Protestant Church in the West and upon the interpretation of its life and faith which that Church has passed on to the younger Christian communities, which it has helped to create in the East. The Western Christian knows that the judgment is in its essence a judgment upon himself and upon the inadequacies of his faith. He sees the weakness of his own image reflected back to him in the weakness of the eastern Christian community. He recognises his share of responsibility for the tremendous issues and problems which confront the Church in the East. Some of these issues are:

The question of primacy as between Christ and Caesar, with its corollary of the relation between the Church and the nation.

The tidal wave of scientific materialism.

The chasm between the ethical needs of contemporary society and the ethical resources supplied by the Christian community.

The inadequacy of the sectarian as contrasted with the Catholic mind in the presence of a world civilisation.

The Christian Church as a whole is being judged by its reaction to these issues. The judgment is not a judgment of man but a judgment of God. It is the judgment of God upon the capitulation of the Church before the naturalistic and humanistic forces released by modern civilisation. The man-made forces of nationalism, racialism, capitalism and rationalism have dismembered the body of Christ. Everywhere the broken remnants of the Church Universal are prostrate before the sovereignty of secular authority. But though the Church has been broken it will be made whole again. The very forces that have shattered it carry within themselves the promise of their own destruction.

God is at work in history. Modern civilisation itself is breaking down the self-sufficiency of Protestant individualism and is preparing the way under God's providence for a more truly Catholic community of faith, whose organic life will become an agency of social and personal redemption. For that every Christian can be devoutly thankful to God.

If the weak links in the Protestant chain are being eaten away by the acids of modernity, the chain which will be re forged from the links that remain will be infinitely stronger. The Christian movement, which will survive the present ordeal by fire, will be a movement much nearer to the main stream of historic Christianity, and it is within that stream that the faith exists which is the world's primary need. The day will come when men who hold that faith will collaborate in the reconstruction of Christendom.

In this process of reconstruction it is probable that some of the most important pioneer work will be done by small Christian groups in the East. Christianity in the East has not as yet been cursed by becoming the appendage of a decadent or materialistic civilisation. In the East there is still such fluidity of social and intellectual life that the possibility of significant change in the character and function of the Christian Church is much greater there than in any other part of the world.

It is in this high hope and expectation that the Federation Executive Committee and Conference convenes next September

in Java. We believe that in God's good providence these meetings will begin to lay the foundations for a new organic structure in the East which will some day bind different races and nations together in one common Catholic community of faith. The existence of such a community is the condition of an adequate Christian answer being given to the spiritual and ethical demands of modern civilisation.

F.P.M.

Editorial Note

The Student World devotes each year one of its numbers to a survey of the religious situation and of student-life in one particular section of the world. Thus the "India", "North-America" and "Europe" numbers of the last years are now being followed by a "Far-Eastern" number. The appearance of this number is especially appropriate at a time when world attention is fixed on the dramatic developments in that area and when the World's Student Christian Federation is preparing for a series of meetings in Java, China and Japan.

The selection of countries and movements described in this number is somewhat arbitrary. It has proved impossible to include all nations which will be represented among the eighty delegates at the Federation Conference in Java in September. In addition to China and Japan — the Far East proper — we have, therefore included in our survey only Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies, neither of which has as yet been described in our pages.

What Christianity means to Chinese Students

Y.T. Wu

A people deeply in trouble is naturally driven to serious reflections on a number of things which are taken for granted in time of peace. Shams and make-beliefs may serve as harmless decorations when all is well, but they become a burden to be cast off when the strain of stormy times necessitates the retaining of only a minimum of things that are real and therefore count. China today is in such a situation and Christianity in China, particularly among Youth, is passing through such a trying time.

Ever since the "Renaissance" in 1919, to question accepted traditions and to revolt against institutions hoary with age have been the fashion of the day among youth. To doubt is considered — and rightly so — the beginning of wisdom. Then, China was comparatively in peace. The World War did bring a great upheaval to the nation, but only in an intellectual sense. Her young men could afford to ask many questions and wait in academic ease for solutions. Today, the situation is different. The questionings continue; but they are more searching and more comprehensive, but they are made in a different temper. It is no longer an intellectual pastime, but a matter of life and death.

For the fate of China is now hung in the balance. Japanese aggression has claimed the four most important provinces of her frontier and is threatening to make the whole of China the spoils of her militarism. The communists continue to play havoc in Central China, holding, in a continuous campaign, over a hundred thousand government troops who could have been released to resist the Japanese advance. In the North-West, persistent drought put several millions hovering barely above the death-line; along the Yangtze, another million are struggling with the after-effects of a

devastating flood. But these are merely symptoms of more deep-seated troubles. A government, still in the early stages of an attempt to unite the country; dire poverty because of under development of natural resources; the draining of her already meagre wealth by the more or less enforced dumping of foreign industrialized products — these and many other difficulties constitute the travail on one of the oldest nations in the process of building itself into a "modern" state in the midst of a hostile environment.

What is China going to do? To which among the thousands of crying needs is she going first to apply her very limited leadership and resources? What should be the guiding principles of her national reconstruction? These and other are not questions merely for those holding the reins of government; they constitute the main burden of youthful preoccupation and search.

Such then is the background of life and thought in which Christianity must find anew for itself and its proponents a *raison d'être* for its existence in a nation which has never felt a very great need for religion. In recent years, Christianity has been subjected to a critical and challenging review which is so keen and subtle that the anti-Christian movement of earlier days looks like the harmless gestures of a noisy friend. The fact that this reaction is yet unconscious, inarticulate, and immature does not in any way lessen its significance. I have in my hands hundreds of questions which students, Christian and non-Christian, ask on the subject of religion in conferences and personal interviews. To study these questions in their proper setting is to read the minds of youth as they face the claims of religion and to see the storm that is raging in the realms of personal and social life. These questions can be conveniently classed into two main heads: the intellectual basis of religion and its practical value. Let us take a look at each of these.

First, *the intellectual basis of religion*. The most persistent question has to do with "the conflict of religion with science". As told in the Bible and as taught by Christian teachers that this conflict does exist at a number of points seems beyond question. Miracles, sin and redemption, eschatology, the

divinity of Christ, the belief in a personal God — these are some of the questions which baffle the young mind in its exploration in the land of reason. What could these things mean ? How can they be reconciled with science ? The humanist movement of the West has hardly made itself felt within religious circles, but that does not make any difference. Humanism is native to China : from Confucius and Laotze down to recent leaders in the " Renaissance Movement ", Chinese thought has been naturalistic and humanistic. The introduction of western science into China is, of course, chiefly responsible for this new intellectual outburst. The fact that many of these " enquirers " were educated in mission schools where compulsory religious observances used to be in vogue makes matters worse. The difficulty of correcting anachronistic first impressions is most evident among the minority who go to the extreme of throwing everything over-board. Then again, Christianity in China has hardly become as indigenous as did Buddhism in its first inception. It is an enforced growth, and that essentially after the western pattern. While it is now struggling to learn the modern language in the West, it will also have to learn the Chinese language in order to appeal to educated youth in China.

Next, let us consider the question of *religion's practical value*. The Chinese mind is practical, even when it is not facing big national issues. The Chinese who is interested in religion is interested in its " cash value " rather than in its speculation. The villager who sacrifices to an idol does so not to ensure eternal life or in order to attain inner peace, but for an immediate return in terms of material well-being. Such being the Chinese temper, the questions put forth by youth are easily understandable : what can Christianity mean to me and my country at this time of great national upheaval ? Why do I have to accept any religion when so many others get on just as well without religion ? The saddest part of it is that Christianity is identified with the imperialism of the West. The fact that there are in China many good and sincere western Christians and missionaries with a pure motive is overlooked when Christianity is singled out as the tool of western exploitation on which the responsibility for

a great part of China's present plight is laid. In the more unprejudiced mind an equally difficult question arises. Christianity should indeed be distinguished from the religion of Jesus, but is the religion of Jesus practicable? The philosophy of life for the Chinese is the doctrine of the mean, not extreme precepts. If Motze, teaching universal love, should have so little influence among the Chinese people, what chance is there for a religion which enjoins the turning of the other cheek and the forgiveness of enemies? To the serious-minded few, who refuse to gloss over the literal meaning of Jesus' words, this question becomes an acute issue, when the Sino-Japanese conflict is approaching its worst. Curiously enough, the belief that the love of an enemy and non-resistance as taught by Jesus are not a futility, is inspired chiefly by the example of Gandhi who is not a Christian. A small group of Christian students is now beginning to explore into the possibilities of pacifism. They will have a difficult time ahead, but the thrill of a new discovery keeps them going.

But this is not all. What has Christianity done to China in the past? Have her four hundred thousand Christians affected to any appreciable extent the destiny of the nation? It is true that it has done certain good things, such as the work of schools, hospitals, and philanthropy; it has preached the Gospel which has turned out some good citizens. But is that all that Jesus teaches? This feeling of dissatisfaction and self-reproach probably would not have arisen, or at least not to such an extent, had it not been for one outstanding factor in the present development of student thinking, which is communism. Without intending to exaggerate the matter in the least, the influence of communism on students is simply amazing. I have vivid impressions of keen, earnest, serious-minded students whom I have met, which make this conclusion inevitable. In the beginning of this article I have mentioned certain of China's national needs. The burning question among youth at the present moment is the following: is it possible to effect any real national change without changing the whole social structure? Take the Japanese invasion: can it be dealt with as a problem by itself, or is it

not rather the natural result of an imperialism which is fed by an uncontrolled capitalist order ever seeking economic expansion ? If China would save herself, must she not take seriously into account this more fundamental aspect of her social and international problem ? That questions like these should deeply disturb Christian students has a double significance. On the one hand, the challenge of communism, which has brought these questions into clear relief, reflects badly on the seemingly other-worldly and utopian nature of Christianity. It means well, but it is impracticable and does not have a social programme. On the other hand, this challenge stirs to the depth of their souls those who see in Jesus a social revolutionary, whose radicalism would go far beyond that of any school of socialism. The one deprecates, and the other intensifies the claims of Christianity. This much, however, is clear : Christianity has largely identified itself with the vested interests of the present social order, and most of its adherents seek to profit by the maintenance of the *status quo*. This fact divides the Christian students into two camps : one group, while vaguely keeping its Christianity intact, is being drawn closer and closer to communism ; the other group would seek to apply the social teachings of Jesus to the present situation and to transform Christianity from within. Thus Christianity is being put to a severe test and nothing but its intrinsic value will determine which of these two groups will play a more important part in the course of events in China.

In the meantime, we must not overlook what is going on and being put to good use even during this turmoil. The problems of religion are everlasting while human needs are immediate. The dissatisfaction with an old house does not necessarily mean that we are left entirely without shelter. Since the Manchurian incident of September 18, 1931, the reserve strength of the Christian students is particularly in evidence. Everywhere among young men we find despondency, pessimism, and inactivity. And who can blame them when even those more mature and holding responsible positions are practically in the same state ? The Christian students, however, give a better promise. Many of them

are still fumbling with all kinds of social, religious, and personal problems, but they show to a far less extent the tendency to pity themselves and to do nothing. Wherever students are active in such undertakings as raising of funds for the wounded, publicity for China's cause, promotion of home products, strengthening of student morale, it is found that the Christians are among the staunch supporters. Student conferences, retreats, Bible study, and discussion groups in most cases go on with the usual vigour. Groups here and there are making actual experiments in rural reconstruction. "Let us do something and not just talk and sigh" is now a very prevalent attitude.

This attitude among the Christian students needs a word of explanation. It grows out of a discipline and a view of life. The existence of God may be questioned but the worship of God continues. The artistic and symbolic services, which have now become an indispensable part of student gatherings, are a means of release and regeneration which bring poise and strength. Then again, the more tangible person of Jesus becomes a saving element in the hour of darkness. The beauty of His character compels attention; the authority of His teachings inspires faith. The storm of doubts may be tossing the searching soul, and yet the facts of Jesus' life carry with them a sense of assurance and peace. The whole thing is no less a hazardous adventure, but not without a trusted leader.

Something of this same trend with regard to religion may also be said of the non-Christian students. To a number of them, now as before, Christianity is part and parcel of the oppressing class. It does not deserve special attack, for in time, it will fall with that whole system. With many others, the case is different. Repeated frustration of youthful dreams has brought a sense of futility and helplessness. Wanderings in the wilderness where "irrational" institutions and systems have all been shattered, at least mentally speaking, bring nothing but emptiness and despair after a time. Could there not be something in that mysterious thing called religion on which some people have laid such a tenacious hold? A young friend with whom I have been

discussing for some time a number of subjects came to me one day with these words : " I was once a Christian, but had later discarded Christianity as something superfluous. Recently, however, I had a queer desire to find out something more about religion. Do tell me what religion means to you in your experience." This is typical of a large number on the border lines of the devotee and the iconoclast. For this reason, some have been led to describe China as " the country most ripe for evangelism ". But here we must pause for a word of warning. If we take " evangelism " to mean that type of religious work which makes an emotional appeal and centres on the change of individual lives, the above-mentioned description may bring us to disillusionment. Not even a more balanced approach with the social emphasis, if it confines itself to talking in " campaigns ", seems to be the thing to meet the situation. An evangelist of any type, provided he is a good speaker, or speaks in earnest, will not fail to get an audience. Just now, revivalism is winning hundreds of students here and there who have evidently been looking for an " escape " from the grim realities of life. Hundreds of thousands more would flock to hear a more " modern " evangelist. But what would be the result ? Not that there is no value in evangelism, even of the revivalist type, but that such efforts would arouse feelings and anticipations which, under the circumstances, could not be satisfied or fulfilled. We take the initial step with the would-be convert, thinking that by doing so he will go out into the world and translate his inspiration into action. But the fact is that the Christian movement, in the main socially indifferent, would in most cases leave him just as cold, and perhaps even more disappointed than when his curiosity about religion is first aroused. If we are not to add to the number of those who are disgusted with Christianity after having been Christians themselves, we must find some means of presenting a " full " Gospel which would involve action as much as conversion in the solving of life problems. Evangelism must take on a new meaning, and only when it has done so will China really be the country most ripe for evangelism.

Just a word in conclusion. Japan is now running amuck in an unprepared China with a world too busy with its own problems looking on. No one would dare to prophesy what will happen next. In the next few years she may succeed in shattering China to pieces. But that will be only for a time. Judging from her past history, China will inevitably rise again. One shudders to think what kind of a China she will be then, and what she will bring to the family of nations.

Then again, we see the gathering storm of a socialist revolution. It may not come yet for some time, but, if we read the signs of the times aright, that time may not be too far distant. What form will this revolution take and who will direct its course ? Which way will China turn ?

These are momentous problems, and if Christianity has anything to contribute at all, this is its golden opportunity. And it is only natural that students should play an important part in the working out of these problems.

What Students in China are Thinking

KIANG WEN HAN

The student mind in China is usually a good barometer of the spirit of the whole nation. Since September 18th, 1931, when the Japanese troops first launched their attack on Manchuria, we have witnessed a clear fluctuation of student enthusiasm in China. Immediately after the so-called Mukden incident indignation among students rose to fever heat. They busied themselves initiating parades, boycotts, protests, and propaganda. It was estimated that more than 50,000 students went to Nanking petitioning the Government to wage war with Japan. Several colleges and schools went on strike. This state of restlessness and zeal for action was greatly intensified during the Japanese hostilities in Shanghai. The strong resistance put up by the famous 19th Route Army heightened the morale of the people. The students rendered valuable services both on the battlefield and in the rear.

After the armistice in Shanghai, the hopes of students turned to the restoration of Manchuria. In the meantime, the Government made no effective move in that direction. Its pronounced policy of " persistent resistance " proved to be ineffectual and disappointing. The students then built their hopes on the " volunteers " who were sustaining a harassing guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in Manchuria. These hopes also began to evaporate when it was found that the Government gave no substantial support to the " volunteers " and that several of the important leaders of the volunteer troops were reported to have been defeated by the Japanese. The disappointment of the students deepened into a spirit of general apathy when the Japanese occupied Shanhaikwan early this year without resistance on the part of the Chinese troops. The students made no noise and did nothing. They became just indifferent and inactive toward this continued Japanese aggression. It was reported that a number of students had led in the exodus of the population from Peiping in fear of an imminent descent of the Japanese upon that city. Many others refused to take winter examinations and demanded the early closing of schools. These actions have aroused much adverse criticism on the part of the public and of government authorities.

It is clear that the present apathy of students in China is a result of the sense of utter disappointment and helplessness. As they become less active, they are enabled to think quietly over some of these great problems, perhaps rather penitently. Of course, there are some students who, disappointed by the futility of their past patriotic efforts, have become engrossed in dissipation, such as love-making, theatre-going, dancing, and many forms of dissolute life, despite the present grave crisis. But among the more serious and thoughtful students three burning questions are being faced.

First is the hope for national regeneration. Never has the psychology of " national crisis " been more poignant and widely prevailing than at the present time. The last hundred years of Chinese history have been full of external aggression and oppression. The calendar of the Chinese Republic is dotted with days of " national humiliation ". The map of

China is marked with labels indicating foreign concessions, settlements, leased territories, and spheres of influence. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was right when he said that China is bound under heavy chains of unequal treaties and that China's revolution must be one of liberation from these chains. Avoiding arbitration or appeal to the League, Japan, catching China unprepared, dashed her aspirations for liberty and equality to the ground by the military occupation of Manchuria and Jehol.

The world seems to be turning back to the time before the Great War. Japan is carrying out a grandiose scheme of invasion in defiance of the whole world. Her invasion of China is a world problem by virtue of the fact that it threatens the very foundations of the League and the sanctity of all international engagements. Owing to the delay in any effective action by the League, the idea of self-help and militarisation has begun to grip the mind of the students. "God helps those who help themselves". World opinion at its best can only serve as a moral influence on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The actual resistance and restoration of lost territories becomes the business of China. Her destiny is now in the hands of the Chinese.

Students feel today the full blast of this drive towards militarisation. The talk of world peace is regarded as illusory and idealistic. We often hear such remarks as the following : "China is on the 'death line'. Either China must fight or be destroyed. It is the duty of every Chinese citizen to do his or her share for the defence of our territory. We must not think of the results of the war, but ask how we may fulfill our duties in the most effective manner. Everyone must bear in mind that to live in disgrace is worse than to die in glory. Let us wipe out this humiliation with iron and blood."

Nevertheless, effective resistance hangs very largely on the policy of the Government. The students have done their utmost in urging the Government to take a strong attitude toward the Japanese invasion. But the Government has all along disappointed them. This has aroused deep anger against those political leaders who have failed to provide effective measures of self-defence during these many months

since the occupation of Mukden. Some students have lost confidence in the present order and turned communist. Others begin to realise that internal troubles are more serious than the external ones, and that they should undertake to tackle these first. But a great many others are still deeply concerned over the present crisis and ready to do something if they know what or how.

One important factor which checks student enthusiasm is the Government's policy of suppression and watchfulness. Students who are active in patriotic movements, are regarded by officials as having "colour". They are liable to be arrested and their lives may be in danger. This reactionary tendency finds expression in the so-called Blue Shirts Movement, which is said to be sponsored by the right wing leaders of the Kuomingtang Party. Their main purpose is to consolidate the authority of the present regime and suppress opposition of any kind. It is very similar to the fascist movements in other countries. It is said that when the Blue Shirts get hold of students charged as being communist, they give them the choice between money and the sword. If they choose the latter, it means death. But if they choose money, it means submission and a life of comfort. Several fascist weeklies have been edited by those who have turned their backs upon communism. This growth of fascism and terrorism may act as a quieting factor among students for some time to come.

The second thing that stands prominent in the mind of the students in China today is the desire for social reconstruction. In dealing with this point, it will be well to keep in mind that there are various shades of opinion. The extremists are the communists. Their actual number in the colleges and schools is unknown for the simple reason that any open activity involves personal danger. Just recently in a Shanghai theatre during the showing of a Soviet film, several communists were arrested having been indicated to the authorities by "traitors", who had renounced association with their former colleagues. The Blue Shirts are very active in getting hold of communists by these questionable methods. In Central China the communist-bandits are some-

what pacified by recent government expeditions, but their devastating influence is still rampant.

Apart from this extreme group of communists, though influenced by them, there is an unmistakable change in the thinking of many other groups of students on the question of social reconstruction. Many look towards radical solutions. This change is largely due to a general discontent with the *status quo*. Those who are dissatisfied with the *status quo* are often branded as "left deviationists". This does not mean that they are consciously turning communist. As a matter of fact they are generally opposed to the communist party as such, with its method of violence. But they are impressed by communism's challenge to this present order and by communism's concrete programme. Their deeper concern, however, is the discovery of some socialistic form of society which can offer new life to this suffering world.

Dr. Hu Shih published some time ago an article in which he pointed out that there are five fundamental social evils in China which, unless removed or remedied, permit no hope for the realisation of China's ideal to become a modernised country. These five evils are poverty, ignorance, corruption, disease and disorder. Many students find it hard to reconcile themselves to this line of thinking. They agree with Dr. Hu Shih in so far as these are the apparent evils of the Chinese social system, but they do not regard them as fundamental. The fundamental wrong is with the system itself, in which they find themselves entrapped, and unless the system is changed, they are convinced that these evils are inevitable. The evils of an entrenched social system cannot be remedied by piecemeal or patch-work measures.

For the sake of orientation, there must be a clear sense of direction. "Whither China?" is therefore a very pertinent question in the mind of the students. Two directions seem to them possible. One is towards capitalism, the other is towards socialism in its more inclusive sense. The development and effects of capitalism are quite visible. Socialism has scarcely yet been tried out. Having witnessed the innate and obvious deficiencies of capitalism with its disastrous effects in unemployment and economic depression, many

students believe that it is doomed to collapse in the West. China should by no means fall into the same pit. The alternative then is some form of socialism. Although no perfect socialistic order has ever been worked out, Soviet Russia offers an experiment which seems very attractive and promising to them. The recent restoration of China's diplomatic relationship with Russia has been hailed with great enthusiasm and approval by students. There is a deluge of books and magazine articles on various phases of Soviet Russia. Most students therefore tend to think that we should not repeat the mistakes of the capitalistic order, but that we should blaze a new trail of socialism.

At present, there are many and varied influences working for the turning of the Chinese student mind toward social reconstruction. The most important of all is literature. An overwhelming amount of so-called "modern literature" is tinged with the materialistic interpretation, class struggle, economic planning, and the dialectic method. Most of the translations are from the Russian and the Japanese. Marx, Lenin, Kautsky, Upton Sinclair have become popular figures. In the numerous weekly papers and monthly magazines, springing up like mushrooms since the Japanese occupation of Mukden, we find that social reconstruction is one of the dominant preoccupations of the day. Students of economics in government and private universities would not be satisfied without a chance to attend lectures on Marxism and Marxian economics.

It is interesting to note the recent change in content and technique of the Chinese motion picture. Formerly, the Chinese film was full of historic tales and mythological legends. But recently it has become more realistic. Several noted productions, such as "Dawn", "Shanghai Nights", "Three Modern Women", are an attempt to describe the evils of modern city life and to contrast the misery of the poor workers with the exploitation and callousness of the rich capitalists. Sex appeal and the romantic element are reduced to the minimum, whereas the contradictions of the present social order are set forth in clear relief. The five films chosen for the Chicago Century of Progress Exhibition are of this

nature. There is also the likelihood of an increase in the number of pictures from Soviet Russia. During the second half of the year 1932, there were 1,555 cinema pictures passed by the National Board of Review of which 863 were American, 279 British, 220 French, 152 Chinese, 37 German, and 4 Russian. But in view of the recent restoration of diplomatic relationships with Russia, it is very probable that Russian pictures will be on the increase. "The Road to Life", the first Russian picture shown in Shanghai, attracted huge crowds.

The third burning quest of students in China today is for the practice of personal attitudes in keeping with the new philosophy of life towards which they are striving. There are at least three interests which serve as indicators. The first is a determination to find a basis of reality for their life problems. The national crisis has served as a mirror, reflecting the helplessness and impotence of students. In the deepest sense, students are discovering themselves. Certain shams and sentimentalities have broken down, while elemental human needs begin to assert themselves. They realise that they have been living in an "ivory tower" and that they have too often been engaged in the building of castles in the air. There is the question of the "rice bowl". Where will they be placed after graduation? The present educational system in China is not conducive to training for productivity and usefulness. Employment is too often based on nepotism and personal relationship rather than on merit. Then there is the question of sex and marriage. Few schools, if any, make any provision for sex education in the curriculum. Much of the sex knowledge of students is gained from reading indecent literature. The ancient moral code is being summarily dismissed. But where is the new moral standard for sex-life?

The second is a nostalgia for discipline. A regenerated nation and a new social order demand disciplined individuals. Among the rank and file of students in China, we usually find two extreme attitudes toward life. One extreme is an attitude of despair and pessimism. The pessimistic students cherish no hope for the world or for themselves. They

are generally sentimental and always look at the dark side of things. Many a student has committed suicide as a result of such a conception of life. The other extreme is the more easy-going attitude of demoralisation. They indulge themselves in a " fool's paradise ". Their chief concern is physical gratification and security. In their mind there is no room for social ideals. What they are after is a life of comfort and fashion. They are true followers of Hollywood. But these two extreme attitudes are not the healthy ones required for the building of a new China. A number of students are endeavouring to take a more serious attitude towards life. But a serious life implies a life of discipline. The practice of discipline should run through group life as well as personal life. So often the Chinese have been characterised as a loose sheet of sand or a people of five-minute enthusiasm, that it is gratifying to see students beginning to formulate simple creeds for mutual observance, and experimenting in the possibilities of a more rigid and regular way of living.

The third is a widespread desire to identify their lives with a great cause. The cause they have chosen is obviously the welfare of the masses and finds expression in the enthusiasm for rural reconstruction. After all China is a rural country. More than eighty per cent of her population belongs to rural districts. Owing to the difficulty of communication, the burden of exorbitant taxes, and the lack of scientific tools and management, most of the Chinese rural districts are heading towards disintegration and bankruptcy. Furthermore, illiteracy, ignorance and superstition, are prevalent among the peasants. The students now realise that rural reconstruction is the crux of the Chinese problem. " Back to the country " is the slogan of the day. Several rural experiments have already been started. Men like James Yen, W. T. Tao, and Liang Sou-ning are devoting their whole time and effort to such rural centres. They have aroused great admiration and respect in student circles and they have aroused it not by empty talk but by their life and example. This passion for rural service is laying hold upon literally thousands of the most promising students who say, " let us go to the country people ".

China goes through a period of severe testing. All the old ways of life, national, social and personal, are now being questioned and evaluated anew. This is what puzzles the mind of the students in China today. In the above treatment, no attempt has been made to differentiate between the thinking of the Christian and the non-Christian students because all are involved in the same process. We should, however, point out that in the matter of national regeneration and social reconstruction, the Christian students have been more constructive and sober-minded. Instead of yielding to despair they make a conscious attempt to show their determination for sacrifice and concrete action. In the matter of personal faith, they are no longer satisfied with traditional doctrinal teaching. But they are eager in their search for the reality and power of religious experience itself. There is also a widespread interest in experimentation with the life of fellowship which is unique to Christianity. The deepening of devotional life and the enriching of the experience of fellowship give us hope for heralding the dawn of the Kingdom of God-order in this stormy and suffering country.

Chinese Youth and Christianity

William MARTIN

A few weeks in China and superficial contacts with its universities do not equip one adequately to speak as an authority about Chinese youth. In this article I shall, therefore, confine myself to a description of the impression which Chinese youth makes on a passing traveller, of the problems by which it is faced, and the problems with which it confronts us.

What impression do these students give? They are eager to learn and intelligent, but they are torn between two traditions and cultures. A dramatic conflict is going on

within them. How could it be otherwise ? The essential characteristic of Chinese civilisation in the past was its continuity. It is not correct to say, that Chinese culture is older than those other cultures which have succeeded one another on the shores of the Mediterranean and in the Near East. But while the curve of these civilisations has been broken off several times, Chinese civilisation has developed harmoniously, without any sudden revivals or any important outside influences, for thousands of years.

Suddenly, however, the technical development of the twentieth century has forced upon China a complete transformation of its customs, which had held sway for centuries. Although the Chinese do not regard the civilisations of the West as morally and spiritually superior, they were nevertheless forced to recognise that the West possessed certain secrets about material life, of which they themselves knew nothing. For the first time in history, they allowed foreign elements to invade their culture.

But once started, it is difficult to hold this current in check. A civilisation is a single whole, and it is practically impossible to accept one of its elements while rejecting all the others. The impact of western ideas breaks up Chinese traditions, and there is the constant strain of internal conflict of cultures on the minds of the people. We can, therefore, easily believe the university professors when they tell us, that the intellectual qualities of their students are far superior to their moral ones, and that their anxiety to learn is far greater than their will-power.

The Chinese possess great intellectual qualities — and they need them in order to master their extremely difficult language and alphabet. To read a newspaper a Chinese must know 1,000 letters ; to read books he must know at least 2,000 — 3,000 ; to be learned and cultured he cannot get on without 7,000 or 8,000 which, with the various combinations in which the letters are used, represents an enormous number: 30,000 — 35,000. The Chinese are a gifted race by nature, and the hereditary use of this difficult alphabet has improved their visual memory to an extraordinary degree. A lady assured me that her little girl, aged four and a half, could

already read 400 letters. Poor child ! But in spite of this precocity, the headmaster of a secondary school says, that his pupils cannot read properly until they are fifteen.

Without exaggeration : these efforts cannot be compared with our own simple efforts to learn the twenty-six letters of our alphabet. It might rather be compared with the effort we make in learning to spell. For while he learns his letters, the Chinese learns his language. But even so, we must admit that the Chinese alphabet requires from students a mental concentration which has no exact equivalent in the West. Of two alternatives, one must be true : either this effort is accomplished at the expense of other forms of mental discipline and other faculties ; or the Chinese are, on the average, more intelligent than ourselves. It is very difficult to decide this question, because the Chinese themselves give conflicting answers to it, according to their particular philosophical tendencies. We may, however, say that, although not usually more intelligent than their western contemporaries, the Chinese are more developed in certain mental faculties ; and that, on the other hand, without having any actual gaps in their minds, the energies which they have to spend on their language are often compensated by lesser results in other branches of knowledge.

Chinese writing is also one of the reasons for their peculiar way of thinking, though it is not the only one. For centuries Chinese culture has been purely philosophical and literary, and exclusively formal in nature. Examinations for the status of mandarin were based on the knowledge of the works of Confucius. These examinations have clearly failed in developing the technical aspects of Chinese intelligence, and perhaps this is one of the reasons for their innate love of speculation, theory, ideology, and sometimes of purely verbal discussion. This explains also their aversion to practical matters and to the concrete realisation of their ideas.

“ The will-power of our students is not on a par with their knowledge”, is the refrain reiterated by most Chinese university professors. There are several reasons for this situation. One is that, for thousands of years, the Chinese people have been repeating the proverb : “ Knowledge is easy, action is

difficult". This is only another form of our proverb : " *La critique est aisée, mais l'art est difficile* ", but the Chinese have drawn other conclusions from it than we have. Fortunately Sun Yat-sen has made a great effort to convince his people, that action is no more difficult than knowledge. But he did not succeed. In their heart of hearts, the Chinese are still convinced that action is difficult, and that it is not worth while trying. That is one of the keys to their mentality, their history and their present situation.

The great aim of education in China must, therefore, be to awaken in students an eagerness, not for study, for they are keen enough in this respect, but for action. And it is here that Christianity, the religion of personal effort, can play a part.

It is generally recognised, that when western civilisation penetrates into an ancient civilisation like that of China, it destroys the local religions. Moreover the Chinese people is certainly one of the least religious, or at any rate the least mystical, in the whole world. It has three religions, all so eclectic that, instead of excluding one another, they mingle, overlap and combine in the soul of the believer as one, indefinable whole. The Chinese can often not tell you to what religion he adheres. If you enquire, for instance, about the nature of the Emperor's cult of Heaven, he has to reflect a moment in order to remember whether this was Taoism or something else.

It has not taken long for western ideas to overthrow the very foundations of the Chinese faiths, some of which had a purely philosophical character — which has grown obsolete with the evolution of thought — and some of which were crudely superstitious in nature. In other words, western civilisation in China has made a clean sweep of the old faiths, and Christianity seems to have no rivals, except vague, ancestral faiths of which some traces will always remain — just as we still retain some relics of druidism or of Germanic pantheism.

If we admit, as we usually do in the West, that a great human community cannot do without religion altogether, we must conclude that China offers a marvellous opportunity

to Christianity. One would be tempted to say, that a new Pentecost may be at hand. After conquering the whole of the then-known world during the first three centuries of our era, after conquering America and all the newly-discovered continents in the fifteenth century and onwards, Christianity sees new perspectives opening up. In our own time, a third wave of œcumenic conquest seems about to follow the two first.

This conclusion seems all the more logical, because Christianity in China does not come up against the same political obstacles as in other countries, where analogous conditions prevail, e.g. Turkey. It is true that among the Chinese revolutionaries there is a certain hostility to Christianity in so far as it is the harbinger of foreign imperialism, but not otherwise. Moreover at the present time, the majority of the men governing China are officially Christians.

Sun Yat-sen, the prophet of modern China, whose tomb proudly dominates the plain of Nanking, was a Christian. He married Miss Soong, daughter of a Protestant pastor. Her sister is the wife of General Chiang Kai Chek, who has become an official convert to Christianity. Her brother is Minister of Finance. Another sister married the Minister of Industry, at one time an evangelist. This enumeration might be continued. Official China is Christian by faith.

This is nothing new in the history of China, for Christianity has had several opportunities there. When the Jesuits arrived for the first time, without the support of any political power, they were welcomed with open arms, and succeeded in making a considerable number of proselytes. Christianity became so deeply rooted that, in spite of later persecutions, it has never been completely eradicated. A Christian tradition has survived throughout the centuries.

Again in the middle of last century, when the leader of the Taiping raised the standard of revolt against the Manchu Dynasty, it was in the name of Christianity. The kingdom founded by him in the Yangtse valley, which lasted nearly fifteen years, was a Christian theocracy of the purest type; it claimed to be the realisation of God's Kingdom on earth, with a king sent direct from God, and who was the brother of

Christ. This experiment, which naturally contained many extravagances, but which had basically, nevertheless, a clearly Christian character, was suppressed with the help of England.

Thus on at least two occasions, Christianity has had a chance in China and has missed it. Today there seems to be a third chance. Will Christianity fail again?

There is reason to fear that it will. For the number of Christians is at present on the decrease, a phenomenon which seems extraordinary, but which is nevertheless unmistakable. What can be its explanation?

We cannot enter into a discussion of the many mistakes made by the missions. They may be studied in *Re-thinking Missions (Laymen's Missionary Report)*, an exhaustive survey, followed by doubtful conclusions. This study shows how difficult it is, not only to conceive a perfect work in this realm, but even more to carry it out, if one has finally to depend on ordinary human beings. But while the mistakes of missions have undoubtedly been real and numerous, the most serious of all seems to me that of scattering its energies in activities of all kinds which have nothing particularly Christian about them, instead of confining itself to evangelism — these mistakes do not sufficiently explain the decline of Christianity in a country which would seem, at the present time, to be ready for the Christian message.

The real reasons for this phenomenon seem to be the following. Firstly — to put it very frankly — Christianity has lost its revolutionary fervour today. It was as a social revolution that Christianity first invaded the world. As a social revolution it was presented to the Chinese people by the Taiping, and conquered them with a rapidity and force which western arms have been unable to destroy. But today Christianity no longer presents itself as a call to the poor. It is difficult to reach the masses and to enter the villages, and Christianity remains, therefore, too often a faith for the rich, or at least for the intellectuals. It is making an effort to influence the universities — and this brings us back to Chinese youth.

It is precisely these young students who resist Christian ideas most strongly — for a perfectly natural reason. The

modern Chinese student, proud of his newly-acquired western culture, writes *Science* with a capital S. and recognises nothing beyond or above science. He fails to understand our distinctions between science and faith. He is obsessed with the idea — often imported from America or Europe — that modern science is absolutely incompatible with religion. It is the Chinese students also who are usually the protagonists of nationalism — another conception which they have introduced from the West. But it happens that in spite of all the efforts to disentangle it, Christianity in China is too often bound up with foreign imperialism. Lastly, it must be admitted that, apart from the missionaries, the representatives of Christianity in the Far East are no credit to their faith.

So it is not with an older civilisation, not with the ideas of the past, not with the traditions of the country, nor with already-existing religions, that Christianity has to contend in China. The obstacles which it encounters are within ourselves. They are part of our own civilisation. We are passing these obstacles on to the Chinese, together with our ideas, at the same time as we try to preach Christianity to them.

Our Christian civilisation today rests on an internal contradiction. It contains many elements of Christianity and yet it is no longer Christian. This is the reason why Christianity fails to reach the Chinese masses. This is why it is in danger of missing this unique opportunity, which seems to offer itself, of conquering the world. This is also why the educators of Chinese youth are right in making the diagnosis : intellect superior to character. Is not this, to a great extent, the diagnosis which could be made of youth all over the world and of our whole epoch ?

What Christianity means to Japanese Students

M. S. MURAO

Unexpected Reaction

When a Japanese pastor, who happened to be a strong patriot, was told by a foreign friend how imperialistic and military was the Japanese action in Manchuria, he replied after explaining the inevitability of the operations in China on the part of the Japanese forces, "Well, who taught Japan, who had had no outside troubles for over three hundred years, how to expand into other people's territory, and the use and necessity of modern military weapons?" The foreign enquirer might have rejoined by saying, "But it was not what we expected from our contact with you." Some of the reactions of the Japanese people to Christianity, and especially that of the student class, may well surprise some of the enthusiastic missionaries who carried the Gospel to this country and those who supported the enterprise. It is not without reason that *Re-thinking Missions* (The Report of the Appraisal Commission of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry of the U.S.A.), the book which caused such a sensation in the missionary-sending countries, did not arouse much interest in Japan. Some of its conclusions were too familiar to the Japanese to require comment, and some of them were too wide of the mark, in spite of the high ability of the investigators.

It does not seem to be sufficiently realised in the "sending" countries that, to the educated mind of Japan, and especially to the student class, Christianity does not appear as an "advanced" way of thought. There were days, of course, when Christianity, like everything else coming from the West, was a progressive idea and met with the opposition of the conservatives and the support of the rising generation. The

only drawback which seemed to be attached to Christianity was the very high moral standard demanded by it. They admitted the truth of Christianity in theory and approved heartily of the social ideals and international outlook inherent in Christian teaching, but felt that they could not or would not live up to the high moral standard of Christianity. Moreover the tendency among students in those days (and one which has not entirely died out in this country) was to regard religion as merely the teaching of codes and theories, and the Church as a fellowship of those who agree to pursue the same ideal — instead of as a power to give life, a fellowship created and sustained by life. The outcome of this situation was, that those who did not wish to be hypocrites refused to become Christians. They claimed that Christianity was too "utopian". Even those who opposed Christianity on patriotic grounds (as they thought) had a secret reverence for Christianity, and consoled themselves with the plea that Japan had a different history and tradition which made her unadaptable to Christianity. To be sure, the advance of natural science had the effect of making the educated feel doubtful about the validity of the Christian religion. But the subsequent trend in the thought-world was, that religion had a different sphere to deal with from that of science, and that in the moral sphere Christianity stood unassailed (with that ever-recurring reservation in the matter of patriotism, which is the highest morality to the ordinary Japanese). These were some of the chief attitudes of the educated, and of students in particular, toward Christianity before the Great War. There has been a radical change in their attitude since then.

Disillusionment of the West

That democracy asserted itself as never before as the result of the War had the effect of making the conservative and jingoistic opposition to Christianity subside. New leaders like Dr. Yoshino (whose death early this year was grieved all over the country) and Dr. Kagawa, together with Suzuki Bunji, Abe Issoo and others, were Christians. Christianity had a sort of boom during the war years. This was

especially the case among the young. The counteracting voices, which emphasised the failure of Christianity to stop the war, in spite of its influence for the past two thousand years in the West, were not taken seriously enough to stem the tide.

But the conclusion of that great catastrophe ushered in an entirely new phase in the Japanese outlook.

The Treaty of Versailles, which was regarded as disappointingly unfavourable to Japan, disillusioned the thinking class of the country as to world justice. The subsequent Naval Disarmament Conferences at Washington and London only served to strengthen the conviction, that the West is bent on checking the aspirations of a young country like Japan. The events following the Manchurian affair, and the course taken by the Powers at Geneva, conclusively convinced the Japanese that what is called justice in the West is merely the pretension used to cover the white man's greed. I am not saying, that all the Japanese think is true and right, any more than I would say the same regarding the criticisms of Japan indulged in by the "militaristic" and military-serving pacifists in the West. But what I want to show is, that this is the background which must be taken into account by the people who would in any way influence Japanese thought. Christianity, which used to have ample means of proving its validity for moral and spiritual uplift by quoting the examples of "Christian" countries, has now been deprived of all advantages in this direction. It must prove its worth by its own truth and strength, not by past experiments in the West.

Many people in the West and in China ask us, what the Japanese Christians are doing to check the military campaigns in China. Japanese Christians at the present juncture are not called upon to do anything of that sort. They are required to produce the evidence, that all these diplomatic injustices committed at Geneva, and all the hypocrisies in the outcry made in China and America, have nothing to do with Christianity as such, though the spokesmen may be Christian believers and even claim to speak in the name of Christianity. Only those who can understand this aspect of the Japanese mind can rightly appreciate the difficulties and opportunities confronting the Japanese Church.

Marxian Inroads

The success of the communist régime in Russia had a far-reaching effect in Japan. The "wind" sown by the leaders of democracy only served to reap the "whirlwind" of communism among the Japanese students. In spite of the successive raids made on them by the government, and notwithstanding the rise of patriotic enthusiasm consequent on the Manchurian affair, communist influence has not been wiped out. Out of the 400 arrested by the police at the last raid, well over 250 were students. Although the number of those who actually join the communist party or become their "sympathisers" (who are also banned by law in Japan) are not so numerous, the general trend of thought among the students is, that it is beneath their intellectual dignity to doubt the Marxian theories.

According to the police investigations, the characteristic features of those who enter the "left" movement are as follows: —

Ages 20 to 25.

Both parents are living and healthy.

Family of good means with actual work engaged in.

Of smooth and successful educational career from primary school to university.

Honest, sincere, enthusiastic, fond of study, reserved nature.

Not very fond of sports but enjoy good health.

Of clear head, superior in achievement, industrious, artistic, fond of literature.

None of them can be classed as having any tendency to moral degeneracy.

They firmly believe in the righteous cause of their movement and in building up social justice.

There were days when the students in the Bible classes conducted by missionaries were the best students, intellectually and morally, although not all of them became confessed Christians. Dr. Nitobe, the late Viscount Chinda, five Imperial University presidents and many others of the same high grade, were such. But it seems that that rôle has now

been taken by the communists. As both H. Lilje (*The Christian Faith Today*, p. 48) and E. Shillito (*Nationalism, Man's Other Religion*) say, the true rival of Christianity in this generation is not necessarily the Oriental or ethnic religions, but communism. This fact, I believe, is most clearly evidenced in Japan.

As I said above, Christianity has been able to hold its own in Japan, on moral grounds, even through the storms of nationalism or materialism in their old forms. But with communistic thought, that line can no longer be held. The Marxists question the sanctity of property and home. They do not oppose the slaughter of people, but rather encourage it. Those who are not opposed to these matters are condemned as enemies of real society. Christianity, especially Protestantism, is blamed as being responsible for all the miseries and evils in the present world. For the sake of truth and humanity, such an evil as the Christian religion must be stamped out, is their cry.

Since the Restoration 66 years ago, religions have always been opposed as being means of exploiting the down-trodden and the ignorant. But Christianity has been regarded as quite exceptional in this respect. With its social and philanthropic work, Christianity has been regarded as the friend of the poor. As Mr. Sekiya, who had been secretary to the Court for more than thirteen years, said at a meeting of pastors after his resignation from office in April this year, "even those who do not favour Christianity as a religion, cannot help realising the fact that in social work, most of which receives generous assistance from the Imperial Treasury, that carried on by Christians is by far the most satisfactory". And rightly so. But to those who are under the influence of communistic thought, Christianity is the archdevil in compromising the proletariat, because of the excellence of her social service.

The Position of the Japanese Church in Relation to Student Life

Now to turn to the inside of the Christian Churches. What kind of Churches in Japan are attracting the students

to their services ? The answer is, rather strangely, very much like that in the West. The days are gone when Dr. Ebina, with his adaptation of nationalistic thought and liberal Christianity, and Mr. Kanzo Uchimura with his "Bible and Bible only" evangelism, could hold the largest student congregations. There are two kinds of Churches which are holding student congregations at present : those where the Barthian theology with the old-time Calvinistic fervour is preached ; and those where Catholic or Catholic-like services are held. Churches where the "social gospel" is preached are not attracting large congregations. One of the recent "best sellers" among the Christian books was one on *Dialectic Theology* (of course mere curiosity, both bad and good, may account to some extent for this success) and it sold mostly among the students.

Some people may say, this phenomenon is encouraging, showing the consolidation of Japanese Christianity after sixty years' experiment. But the writer of the present article would take exception to this assertion. The Christian message, especially in Japan, is "personality" and ought to be so. The Christian task in Japan is and should be the creation of personality, and not merely increasing the congregation *per se*.

The Christian religion is a spiritual religion, and spiritual in modern language means "personal" (cf. E. A. Burroughs', *The Way of Peace*). What the Japanese people lack, in spite of all their other excellences, is the idea of the value of personality. As a matter of fact, there is no word for "personality" in the Japanese language. By the life-giving reality of the Gospel, and the personal reign of God in individual life, Japan could be saved individually and socially (cf. *Education, Copec Report*, 1924, Vol. 11. p. 9). It may be a spiritual revival in the case of western countries, to emphasise the "authority" either of the Word or of the Church, after rank individualism has run its course. But in Japan, where personality has not been sufficiently realised, the ready submission to authority will mean a relapse to the old, unspiritual state of obedience and submission. To talk about the federation of religions, to fight against the menace

of Marxism, to my mind, is nonsense. For Marxism can be driven out only by those who fully realise the power and reality of personality. Oriental religions, with all their excellence in philosophy and the form of "magical" worship, are tragically devoid of personality. Philosophically they are not the opponents of Marxist materialism, but rather its confederates. In order to help the Japanese student "make good" (which is the real meaning of "salvation"), what is necessary is, not to make them fall back into the old habits of bondage and provide them with attractive "spiritual cushions", but to make them "responsible" to God's call to wake up to the world reality and world task. With all its good aspects, the two Christian tendencies enumerated above are leading youth to concentrate their attention too much on their own "spiritual" welfare and superiority. Only a vigorous and liberal Christianity can truly save them.

As I write these lines towards the end of May, the most sensational topic before the Japanese public is the crash between the Ministry of Education and the authorities of the Kyoto Imperial University. The controversy started by the demand of the former to dismiss a professor from the latter institution, on the plea that the professor in question had published a book containing an extreme communist view on marriage (the book had been suppressed by the police). Forty professors and instructors, together with the president of the university, tendered their resignation, as a protest against this interference with the liberty of study. 3,000 students also gave up their studies in a sort of "sympathetic strike". The point they are specially emphasising is the fact, that they are not in any way connected with the "red" agitation. Has liberalism in Japan at last begun to reassert itself? It remains to be seen.

It is very much hoped, that the summer conference this year under the auspices of the National Committee of Y.M.C.A.s (which are to be organised with entirely new staff) may go a long way toward leading the student world in the way of true Christian life and service.

Japanese Students between Marxism and National-Socialism

Mitsuaki KAKEHI

I.

Students are always divided into two groups, the thinking group and the more superficially minded. Those who characterise the spirit of the times are always the former. The latter, being influenced and moved by the former, create and support the general situation. The first group will properly constitute, therefore, the object for our observation. It is quite natural that the trends of thought represented by that group should have taken the same process of development as in that of the general social thought. Starting with the democratic movement in 1918, the vanguard of the group were found instituting as early as in 1920 an organisation for the promotion of socialism; and in 1922, radicals among them were arrested as members of the First Japanese Communist Party. Three years later, in 1925, "The Federation of Student Associations for the Study of Social Science", an organisation clearly defining itself as based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, was reported to have a membership of 1,600 among 59 colleges and universities. Thirty-eight members of the federation were arrested the same year as involved in the so-called Kyoto Imperial University event. If we read the statement of reasons for the decision of the case by the presiding judge, we can get an idea of what these radical students were thinking. It reads in part as follows :

"The accused . . . attempted to effect an emancipation of the proletariat guided by the principles of Marxism and Leninism for the ultimate purpose of the realisation of a communistic society . . . in other words, they held con-

ferences for the purpose of revolutionising our national constitution and of abolishing the system of private property."

This event awakened the attention of the intellectuals to the social significance and serious nature of student thought ; but the general public did not take notice of this movement until three years later, when its existence was disclosed on the occasion of a secret plot of the Second Japan Communist Party, with the members of the aforesaid student organisation at its centre. It should be noted in this connection that student thought as represented by these extreme left groups had gone so far, according to the statement of Judge Miyagi of the Tokyo District Court, as to aim at "the establishment of communistic society . . . by means of the dictatorial rule of the proletariat, by establishing a Soviet government of labourers and peasants."

Since then the student thought-world had practically been dominated by Marxism up to the time of the May 15th event ¹. This does not mean, however, that serious-minded students have been all Marxists or communists. It means rather that, because of the increasingly intensified sense of failure of the present political and economic structure, because of the absence of other political and economic theories as basic and convincing as those of Marxism, and because of the faith and religious ardour of Marxists in the attempt to carry out their programmes for social reconstruction, Marxist theories, in spite of their one-sided, dogmatic and eschatological character, have commanded the almost blind following of students. From the point of view of Marxism and its followers, any other theories, whether they are fundamentally critical or sceptical of the existing order, are compromising, bourgeois, and, to use the new term, "social-fascistic". Social democrats who may still be regarded as radicals by conservative people are thus understood by Marxists to be betrayers, backsliders or agents of the bourgeoisie.

This situation, however, has undergone a marked change since the May 15th event. The emergence of national-

1) Assassination of Premier Inukai; see *Student World Chronicle*, Second Quarter, 1933. p. 171.

socialist movements and the socialistic turn of the right-wing nationalists have brought confusion in student thought. This new situation has been fermenting since the Manchurian outbreak. According to recent statistics there are registered sixty student organisations of the right-wing variety, with a total membership of 20,000. Their numerical strength far exceeds those of the left, but it does not follow that they have gained the position of leadership over the Marxists. The theoretical weakness of right wing movements is perhaps inherent in the nature of fascism, on which their theories are founded. The ambiguity and diversity of the interpretation of fascism is illustrated by the fact that, while all socialist movements other than that of the Third International are fascist in the eyes of the latter, national-socialist movements, which are generally regarded as the headquarters of the fascist movement, profess themselves anti-fascistic. This difficulty in grasping the real nature of the theories is hindering, if not altogether preventing, the student thought-world from being dominated by the right-wing tendencies. But the social consequences of the "direct action" of the right wing should not be thought of lightly.

The consequences of the May 15th event have already been explained ; but those of the action of the "Blood Brotherhood League" should be mentioned, because eight out of fourteen accused are students. This was the affair in which Mr. Junnosuke Inoue, former Minister of Finance, and Baron Takuma Dan, Japan's foremost financier, became victims of a carefully planned assassination by "League" members. It was closely related to the other event in thought as well as in organisation. The fact that this chain of events has aroused a certain sense of appreciation among the general public of the thought and action of the right-wing radicals is well illustrated by a statement of Judge Nakazato, who was in charge of the case in the preliminary examination :

"Now that the preliminary examination is completed", the Judge says, "I have a strong conviction that the general conception which identifies the Blood Brotherhood League with the terrorist organisation of the old type needs to be corrected. Just as the radicals of the right and the left

differ today no more than by the thickness of a sheet of paper, as it is often said, it is a grave mistake to regard the right-wing movement as that of the reactionary organisation in the old sense. Having had some experience in dealing with communist cases, I have found the Blood Brotherhood League case to be an interesting contrast to them, and its investigation a very helpful study for me. My past experiences in communist cases have greatly helped me this time in understanding the psychology and thought of the members of the Blood Brotherhood League."

The most important social consequence of the rise of the right-wing movement from the point of view of our present study is, however, manifested in the desperate mood of the extreme left and in the strained feeling of their student sympathisers which is well expressed in the saying current among them : "Which shall we join, the red army or the white one ?" The forceful suppressive measures of the government have, of course, contributed greatly to the creation of this state of affairs, yet psychologically viewed, the former factor is responsible for it in a far greater degree. We can enumerate a few more facts illustrative of the situation. The first fact is, that there were found some 180 students, men and women, among those who were arrested in connection with the desperate campaign in 1932 for funds for the Third Japanese Communist Party, characterised by the daylight bank robbery of yen 31,000 and by the so-called "erotic" tactics practised by the members. The second is, that 867 men and women students, most of whom were clear-headed sons and daughters of well-to-do families, were expelled from the colleges and universities on account of participation in communistic movements during the academic year ending March, 1932. The last is, that the arrests of communist students still being reported show how they continue their underground activities in the face of the most adverse situation.

II.

With regard to Marxism or Leninism as guiding principles of the left-wing students, an explanation is hardly necessary,

for these theories have been current among the intellectuals of the world. But as to fascism or nationalistic theories, as the guiding principles of the right-wing students, comment may be needed here. The difficulty of grasping the real nature of the theories has been explained elsewhere. It can somewhat be avoided, however, by following up the two major tendencies prevalent among the right-wing movements — the anti-capitalistic tendency on the part of those movements which stand primarily for nationalism, and the nationalistic tendency of those which stand primarily for socialism. Following further the two tendencies we will find their combination in a theory of state (national) socialism, which can be regarded as the most representative as well as systematic of all nationalistic theories in present-day Japan. Let us, therefore, take it up for our observation as it is expounded by Professor Kimio Hayashi of Waseda University, the author of this theory.

State socialism, according to Professor Hayashi, is neither national socialism nor the state socialism of the old German school, but rather a form of socialism based on "state-ism" (he uses this term of his own make in order to distinguish it from nationalism). The point of difference between the two allied theories lies, he asserts, in the fact that, while national-socialism stands primarily for fatherland-first against internationalism very often tending towards anti-foreignism, state socialism always makes internal affairs its chief concern. Nevertheless he admits that, when international relations are strained, as they are at present, and the integrity of the state is seriously threatened, state socialism of necessity shifts its emphasis to international affairs, identifying itself thus with national socialism in its practical application. We can, therefore, understand that the two theories constitute "two sides of a shield". The main point of state socialism is, however, found in its conception of the state. The state is an innate or natural society, the realisation of ethical ideas and the most perfect form of community life — a monistic conception of the state not remote from that of Hegelianism. The second point is its economic theory. According to him the only economic theory that is in keeping with the spirit

and practice of state-first-ism is socialism, which stands for the benefit of the whole rather than for that of the individual. On the assumption that economic life constitutes the most important factor in modern society, he asserts that the cause of all troubles lies in the very nature of an economic structure supported by the principle of profit first and of ruthless free competition, an inevitable result of which is class antagonism. Such being the nature of the capitalistic economic structure grounded on individualism, he maintains, it destroys the integrity of the national life, and obstructs the development of a state along the line of its essential character. There can be no state-ism, according to him, if the basic problems in the economic life of the nation are not solved. As to class-war, state socialism, while regarding it as a social fact, does not recognise its validity from the point of view of social philosophy, as it stands diametrically opposed to the principle of the benefit of the whole and of the state-first. From this angle also, state socialism rejects capitalism which creates the difference of living conditions between proletariat and bourgeoisie and leads inevitably to class-antagonism. For the same reason it is in absolute opposition to communism, which stands for the benefit of the proletariat alone.

So much for the polemic aspect of this economic theory. We must now turn our attention to the constructive economic programme of state socialism. Controlled economy, according to Professor Hayashi, is one of the important items of the programme, an economic policy which tries to control production and consumption in such a way as to meet the needs of the country and to work for the benefit of the whole nation, thus enabling the state to develop and exalt its essential character. Controlled economy here has to be clearly distinguished, he says, from mere planned economy, which functions rather for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, bringing increased profit to capital, but which is in reality the so-called rationalisation of industry and of capitalism; nor should it be confused with that of communism, which functions only for the proletariat. It is control entirely by and for the state; it is nothing but the carrying out of socialistic economic policies with state-ism as the guiding principle.

The public ownership does not, however, interfere with freedom to own necessary materials for personal living, that is consumptive property. On this point there is not much difference between state socialism and social democracy, the public ownership of land and capital being one of the basic policies common to all socialistic theories.

What clearly distinguishes state socialism from social democracy is, however, the form of government it proposes as the means to execute the aforesaid economic policies, especially its stand against parliamentarism. On this question Professor Hayashi writes :

“ It (democracy) is a form of government grounded on individualism, the government by majority of votes. Its underlying principle is to believe in the equality of men in spite of difference in experience, knowledge, moral attainment, social standing, and class distinction. In democracy every individual is an independent personality ; therefore anyone's judgment on political problems is to be evaluated as equal to anyone else's. Democracy is a quantitative, and at the same time an individualistic form of government, while state-socialism is qualitative, and at the same time state-centred. In the state-centred form of government the judgments of those who seek to contribute to the highest ideals of the state, forgetting their personal interests, get higher evaluation than the others. In a word, the evaluation of personality is made in proportion to the quantity and quality of service men render the state, and equality is not recognised. As to suffrage, the system of majority votes has to be abolished, and men of superior personality, regardless of numbers, must have political leadership. As state socialism rejects democracy, so it naturally rejects social democracy.

The difference of emphasis between state socialism and national socialism has previously been commented on. It will be useful, however, to quote a few lines from Professor Hayashi's statement on the question, for our further information.

“ State socialism, as I conceive it, is a peculiar product of the Japanese nation, but its basic principles are not to be confined within the boundaries of the Empire. They are the

principles applicable to all the nations of the world. . . . In living out the principles, we should rather aspire to set an example of attainment and success in national prosperity and safety, an example through which other nations will be moved to make similar experiments in the effort to save themselves from the present state of unrest and dissatisfaction We should have an ambition not to conquer the world and exploit other nations by the point of the sword or by the power of money, but to play a leading part in the world's history of the twentieth century as the originator and promoter of a movement for political, economic and moral reconstruction We should not, of course, be blind to the differences of national characteristics, differences in tradition, history and social background. Yet, as long as nations or states exist in the world today, they cannot but be controlled at the same time by certain universal principles. The validity of principles established by a nation will quickly, therefore, act upon other nations to awaken them, and important reforms effected in one state will in the same way stimulate other states to follow its example. The application of principles will vary in accordance with the different national traits, but principles themselves are universal in validity."

III.

In the foregoing we have observed student thought in present-day Japan in its relation to general social thought. There now remains for us the question as to what the students actually think on such current problems as party politics, capitalism, communism, fascism, class war, direct action and international war. On this question many surveys have been made in recent years by educational authorities and public and private institutes of educational and social research. What will be quoted here is the result of a survey quite recently made among students of both the literature and science departments. It is possible that such a survey conducted by the school authorities is somewhat tinged with "official" colour. But it does not lose its value as one possible objective picture, especially as it is the latest avail-

able expression, of a cross-section of student thought in Japan.

What do they think, then, as to the existing political and economic structure ? The following is the record.

(a) The absoluteness of the state, especially in relation to the absolute character of the national constitution of Japan : unqualified support, 56 %; absolute denial, 3 %; middle positions, 31 %.

(b) Party politics : unqualified support, none ; absolute denial, 7 %; middle positions, 93 %.

(c) Capitalistic economic structure : unqualified support, 6 %; absolute denial, 11 %; middle positions, 83 %.

As to the principles and theories which profess to cope with the *impasse* of contemporary civilisation, what are their positions ?

(a) Fascism : unqualified support, 19 %; absolute denial, 8 %; middle positions, 73 %.

(b) Communism : unqualified support, 10 %; absolute denial, 50 %; middle positions, 50 %.

(c) Socialism : unqualified support, 15 %; absolute denial, 6 %; middle positions, 79 %.

As to such specific questions as direct action, class war and international war, what are their reactions ?

(a) Illegal direct action : unqualified support, 8 %; absolute denial, 33 %; middle positions, 59 %.

(b) Class war : unqualified support, 10 %; absolute denial, 21 %; middle positions, 69 %.

(c) International war (answered in different terms) : unavoidable for national existence, 33 %; caused by capitalistic aggression, 15 %; middle positions, 52 %.

As this survey was made of all the students of the institution including the more superficially minded, the result is of no small interest as revealing the new fact, that even the so-called easy-going group is greatly influenced by the serious situation prevailing in present-day society — a situation to which the activities of the radicals of both extremes have been important contributing factors. The group, classified

as taking the middle positions, represents the group that had been supposed to be not yet awakened to the questions of the day. Nevertheless the members of this group appear to have many things to say on current problems. In other words, they are taking liberalistic positions in diverse degrees in not accepting unqualifiedly the existing systems and institutions, but are hesitating to identify themselves with either extreme. This situation can be interpreted also as showing that the social intelligence of the middle group has advanced to such a degree that they always take critical attitudes toward existing systems and institutions, and that they constitute a reserve army which can easily be mobilised for supporting either extreme. In the latter sense, however, the group can be regarded as retaining the original trait of careless thinking.

How easily those of the middle group can be mobilised for the communistic movement has already been shown by experiences in the past, in connection with student strikes in which, almost as a rule, two communist students could move and control one hundred students, ten students a thousand students, and fifty students ten thousand students. A notable instance is the case of a strike in the Waseda University in 1930, a strike which was said to have marked a new epoch in the history of student-thought-movements in its distinct communistic character, and in which some sixty students actually and completely moved and controlled the students of the whole university, numbering some 13,000. It can be said also that the middle group, as stated elsewhere, is influenced by, and at the same time creates and supports, the general situation. The result is, that the most convincing in theory and the most daring in practice can control the general situation, especially in a time like this when the thoughts and movements of both extremes have increasingly become acute. The dominant characteristics of the cross section of student thought are, therefore, represented always by communism and fascism or, to use the student terminology, by "red" and "white".

Our discussion will not be complete without reference to the place of religious belief in the formation of student thought. From what was experienced in connection with a

student strike at the summer school of the Y.M.C.A.'s, an event which took place in July 1932 and which had wide repercussions in religious circles, we can form some ideas, if not conclusions. In the first place, many of the Christian students are not different from the rest of the student community in their social theory. In the second place, they are easily influenced by Marxist and communistic conceptions. And in the third place they can easily be led to replace God by the "historical necessity" of the Marxist materialistic conception of history. The Marxist influence is clearly seen in the following statements, found in the hand-bills, distributed by the strike leaders :

"We have all come to agree that the urgent need of today is to destroy the capitalistic society; it has been clearly pointed out that its existence is something which cannot be allowed even a day longer."

"But how was it with the officers and leaders of the conference? They tried hard to erase and deny our scientific conception of social facts with deception and compromise, attempting to prevent the tide of historical necessity manifested in the forward march of the proletariat. In other words, theirs is the same attitude as characterises the bourgeoisie, which would suppress the movement of the proletariat. They are no more than social democrats, out and out compromisers."

After all, students are students. They are products of the times. Any religious belief which is expressed in individual terms only, can have very little social consequence.

Social Christianity

Enkichi KAN

As the change from Catholicism to Protestantism did not result in the dissolution of Christianity, but in its progress, so the new turn of our age is to go forward with Christ by turning back to Christ. It is evident to every student of the history of Christianity, that in every crisis of society Christian leaders went back to Christ. They discovered a

new Christ by re-reading the Bible, and went forward with Him. If that be the case, we too must go back to Christ and go forward with Christ. The first thing, therefore, for us to do is to re-read the Bible and re-discover Christ. What, then, is the new Christ?

Christ did not preach the salvation of individual souls only, as is often maintained by the individualistic conservatives. Nor was He a political revolutionary, as the militant Marxists would like to say. Again, it is wrong to hold that Christ did not make any attempt to build the visible Kingdom of God, namely the Church on earth. Anyone, who reads the Bible with understanding, will soon realise that Jesus, although He was convinced that the Day of Judgment was near at hand, not only preached the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, but also set himself to build it. It is true, as Bishop Gore says, that Jesus stood on the same footing as the old prophets of Israel. When they saw that Israel would not listen to them, they turned to a little company of those who had ears to hear — they called the little group the faithful "remnant" — proclaimed that they were the real Israelites, and started the new movement of reconstruction with them as its pivot. Jesus certainly adopted the same method. The twelve whom He chose as His disciples He considered as the pillars of the new Kingdom of God, and He devoted His attention more and more to their training. This is why the apostles are assured, that when that Kingdom comes they shall be found round their Lord, sitting on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

It seems then that Jesus intended to organise those who believed Him to be the promised Christ into a community representing the new and true Israel, under the leadership of the twelve. It is mere wilfulness to deny that Jesus founded the Church as the Kingdom of God on earth and supplied it with a rudimentary organisation. Unless Jesus Himself had already started to build the organisation while living on earth, we cannot account for the fact that, after He left earth, the visible, organised community under the twelve emerged at once. As we cannot grasp the true meaning of the Gospels apart from the Old Testament, so we are doing

injustice to the Gospels, if we read them apart from the Acts and the Epistles. How could the Church be organised immediately after His departure from earth, if Jesus preached simply the salvation of the individual soul ? Certainly salvation is always understood in a social sense throughout the Testaments, Old and New. It means the victory, peace and happiness of God's chosen people, not of the individual alone. Salvation of the individual is possible only when he participates in the building up of the Kingdom of God.

Where can we find in the Bible any passage in which He is represented as suffering from His own individual problems ? All the sufferings He bore were for the sake of the Kingdom of God. What about St. Paul ? What about St. Peter ? No passage can be found in the Bible, in which individual suffering is solved merely for the sake of the individual. Accordingly, even though we may read the Bible in the hope of solving our own individual problem, we shall find its answer in the light of the Kingdom of God.

From this point of view, our ideas of God and of salvation, and all our other fundamental ideas about Christianity, must be re-examined and reconstructed.

We shall begin with the most perplexing one, the idea of salvation. It means man's turning back to God. It means to do the will of God. But what is the will of God ? It is manifestly revealed through the life and teaching of Jesus. What did Jesus teach ? He taught the Kingdom of God. What did Jesus do ? He actually set to the building up of this Kingdom of God on earth. Salvation, then, simply means participating in the building up of the Kingdom of God on earth.

What does it mean to love God ? It is rightly said that to love God is to love one's neighbour. In the Gospel of Mark it is written, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind... This is the first commandment. And the second is like unto it, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. " (Mark 12, 31.) The words " like unto it " are very suggestive. Loving God is like loving men. But to love men as Jesus did

does not mean merely practising charity and philanthropy, but letting men know God, or revealing God through our good works. It is to draw them back to God, to let them realise the will of God. In other words, it is to let them participate in building up the Kingdom of God. Thus salvation means becoming a member of the Kingdom of God and doing one's share in building it up. That is, to love God means to have human society under God's rule; and to love men means to turn them back to the society founded on God.

The God of Jesus is not a lonely God. It is said in the Bible, that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them". The God of Jesus cannot be understood without the idea of the Kingdom of God or the God-centred society. Here lies the fundamental principle of Christian ethics. Christians are not expected to do good deeds or to love their neighbours merely for humanitarian motives or for the sake of their own happiness, or again for the satisfaction of their own conscience. Such a love is still a human love and not the love approved by Jesus. The love of Jesus and the goodness which Jesus approves are those which contribute to building up the Kingdom of God and which glorify God. In this sense Christian ethics is social ethics, and nothing else.

Some people say that society must be saved, in order that individuals may be saved. But they are still under the influence of the individualistic conception. The salvation of the individual is possible only when he finds his place in the society founded on God. He can be saved only when he takes his share in building up the God-centred society as begun by Jesus. This is the reason, indeed, why Christianity is necessarily missionary in its nature.

What is the *Church*? It is not an organisation or a club where separate Christians gather together in order to cultivate their religion. This way of thinking is still individualistic. The Church is the organisation which aims at building up the God-centred society on earth. We might say, therefore, that there is no salvation outside the Church.

And what is Christian worship? It is to attribute God's glory to God. It is to place the true centre of our society

in God. The reason why the Church is not a merely human society can be found in its worship. We are apt to change the God-centred society into a man-centred one. The importance of religious service really lies here. But it does not mean to worship God, Who is alone up in heaven. It is to worship Him and to commune with Him as the centre and the head of the Kingdom of God. This is the reason why public worship is essential to Christianity. Public worship in the above sense is unique in Christianity. Thus considered, worship is the pivot of the Church. Without the Church, Christianity, the Kingdom of God, cannot exist. Therefore worship in this sense must be the soul of Christianity.

What is baptism ? It does not simply mean that one's sins are washed away. But it is the ritual which admits one to take one's part in building up the Kingdom of God. What is the Lord's Supper ? It is the ritual of participating in the body of Christ. It is the common meal symbolising fellowship with God and men.

What is prayer ? It is clear to anybody who reads the Lord's Prayer. Jesus first prays that God's name may be hallowed, and His Kingdom come. We so often pray to God for our own individual needs. But that is not the way Jesus prays. We are to ask first for the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and then in the light of it our daily needs must be sought. It is said in the Bible, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness ; and all these things shall be added unto you".

Only when the Kingdom of the God of Jesus is realised on earth can economic problems find their proper solution. How long have we considered the idea of the Kingdom of God and His righteousness in the individualistic sense ! Before we criticise capitalism and individualism, Christianity itself must overcome its individualistic way of thinking. We Christians must first repent of our sins. Only after we have grasped the real meaning of the Gospel of Jesus and taken part in the God-centred society are we able to criticise the present social situation and find a way out.

Christianity being thus understood, we can point out with confidence that no present-day problems, whether political, economic or social, can be satisfactorily solved without love,

justice and the sense of solidarity. All social problems must come in the end to Jesus and His religion, for their solution.

Along these lines of thought we can arrive at a critique of Marxism. First of all, what Marxism is so persistently seeking after is the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Further it can be pointed out that Marxism has not yet thoroughly overcome individualism. In order to discover the real reason for this, we need only study the social situation from which Marxism emerged. It is an economic life revolutionised by the appearance of capitalism and industrialism, the specialisation and mechanisation of the process of production, and the system of wage-labour. Where such a situation exists, there emerges the mode of city-life and the gathering of the masses. This is really the concrete expression of the eighteenth century social theory based upon the concept of an isolated individual or atom. From this follows that individualism and *mass-ism* fall in line with each other. It is interesting to note that Marx and Stirner are the two great contemporary thinkers. Marxism tries to control the masses rationally and artificially by means of strong external pressure. But to organise the mass of people by external pressure is by no means to construct a new, truly social order. Only where there exists the mass, constituted of numberless atomistic individuals absolutely isolated — only when the family has lost its coherence and the old social system has been destroyed — can the rational and technical social order of Marxism win the victory. But that is not a true community (*Gemeinschaft*), only its substitute or imitation. In its essence it is still nothing but the mass. Such a social order may bring about economic and political growth and development of the highest degree. But a truly new social order or community never does result from the rationalisation of the masses by means of strong bureaucratic coercion. Since Marxist society presupposes the existence of the masses, it is necessary for Marxism first to fight and destroy all the social systems which are not based upon the mass, and then to create a new social order founded upon this mass-mind. Thus, theoretically, Marxism does not go beyond the eighteenth century concepts of society and of the individual.

It is, however, important for us to note that Marxism is strongly motivated by the ardent desire to build a truly new social order or community. We find, therefore, a deep-rooted moral impulse in Marxism. But the moral impulse, which is really inspiring Marxism, is by no means satisfied by the mere consolidation of the masses. This is why Marxism tries to turn the masses into the aggressive, militant group which is eager to win its victory. Organising such a group, Marxism endeavours to overcome the mere mass-mind. That is to say, Marxism is seeking to create, by means of class-struggle, a consciousness of solidarity which is necessary to form true cooperation. But that consciousness turns out to be a mere mass-mysticism. It is this mass-mysticism and the sense of moral responsibility for the class struggle which drives men fanatically to the cause of Marxism. This is why I said, that we discover in Marxism some deep sense of morality, and an urgent desire for true community. At the same time Marxism is directed toward social eschatology in this world. In spite of the dominant note of eudemonism and materialism in all the Marxist efforts, we cannot help discovering here Jesus' ideal of the coming Kingdom of God and absolute social justice. Although that ideal of the Kingdom of God has been secularised or materialised in the Marxist view of the future world, it must not be overlooked that there still remains a vague hope of a better world, a desire for the Kingdom of God.

Thus Marxism has not thoroughly overcome individualism. Not only that, it carries within itself a deep-rooted contradiction. That is to say, Marxism does not know what it is really seeking. It is praying to an unknown God. What it is striving for is that love, justice and sacrifice which Jesus taught. In this sense we may say that the ultimate end of Marxism is to be fulfilled only in Christianity. Therefore it must be repeated that the final solution of present-day social problems is found nowhere else but in Christianity. However, in order to solve them rightly, Christianity itself must first be social. Here lies the true meaning of the conversion of Christianity.

“ The Kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye.”

The Sino-Japanese Issue

E.R. HUGHES

I propose to deal first with one or two misapprehensions which I have found to be very prevalent in student circles in Great Britain. I shall then describe in outline what the people in China, especially students, are thinking and feeling about this whole business. Having thus cleared the ground and, I trust, started my readers thinking, I shall then present the main world problem which this Sino-Japanese issue forces upon us, especially those of us who have a concern for the rule of God in the world.

With regard to Manchuria, a great number of people are under the impression that before September 18, 1931, when the Japanese troops started on their work of conquest, South Manchuria was in a thoroughly bad way, altogether so disgracefully mismanaged by the corrupt and incompetent Chinese officials that there was a great deal to be said for the Japanese coming in and clearing up the mess : this for the sake of the people of Manchuria as well as for the sake of Japanese interests. It is also believed that since the Chinese could not develop the resources of this great rich country, the Japanese were the obvious people to do so. As a matter of fact, during the last ten to fifteen years the development of the country has been progressing at a great rate, especially in regard to agriculture. Chang Tso-lin (the "old Marshal") and the men round him may not have been experts in the higher flights of financial administration, but they were in the main quite clear as to what would be both to their own advantage and the advantage of the people. While North China was suffering from war-lords and famine and flood, the three eastern provinces (South Manchuria) enjoyed a rough but effective peace. Immigration from North China was encouraged in every way with the result that the population went up from about 15 millions to about 30 millions.

As the Lytton Report puts it, "millions of Chinese farmers settled the future possession of the land. This immigration was in fact an occupation, peaceful, inconspicuous, but none the less real". All this meant money in the hands of the governors, money which they put to good account. Chinese banks were launched and all sorts of business enterprises begun; above all railways were built to effect the transportation of the new agricultural produce.

The point of all this is that whereas Japanese capital had twenty years before been the chief source of economic power, and the Japanese had been in the centre of the economic picture, now it was no longer so. Everything was coming into the hands of the Chinese, and nothing the Japanese could do, apart from military action, could stop the process. Admitted there were abuses, admitted there was banditry, especially in the newly developed areas, admitted that there was a pin-prick policy in relation to the Japanese — as a matter of fact there was just as much by the Japanese in relation to the Chinese Government — the real determining factor in the situation was this economic drift which reduced to nil the Japanese hopes of economic control.

A second misapprehension is that Manchuria is the natural outlet for Japan's surplus population. There can be no question that there is a serious population problem for the Japanese. The mistake lies in regarding Manchuria as the solution of that problem. For one thing, the Japanese have for years had special privileges in South Manchuria and could have done quite a lot of quiet colonising. Yet in 1931 there were only 230,000 Japanese in Manchuria, and of these more than fifty per cent were officials or servants of the Government and the South Manchurian Railway. The truth is that the ordinary Japanese family will not go there, probably by reason of the Malay streak in their blood. The children do not flourish in the Manchurian climate, so that the business man or farmer, who cannot afford a central-heated house or to slip away to Japan when he feels he needs a vacation, very much prefers not to be there. For another thing, the Japanese are not so devoid of opportunity for emigration as is commonly supposed. They can and do migrate to

South America. In 1932 15,000 emigrated to Brazil. Also they have their own northern island where there is room, according to government statistics, for 150,000 more families. They do not show any inclination to go there. And finally it is an open question whether colonisation is the main solution to this problem. For example in the 19th century the great colonising movement, carried out by the British people, by no means solved the problem of Britain's surplus population. All the time the census showed that the numbers at home continued to rise, not fall. It was by her industrial development that Britain was able to feed all those millions, who could not possibly have subsisted on what Britain alone produced. So with Japan : she has demonstrated her great abilities as an industrial nation, and it is far more by friendship with China and the development of trade there that Japan can solve her population problem than by this seizure of Manchuria, which alienates the Chinese to such an implacable degree. The militarist mind, of course, does not see this, and it is the militarist mind which has held sway in Japan during the last two years.

Now let us take China and the idea so sedulously urged by the Japanese propagandists, that China as a whole is in a state of anarchy and political confusion. Even Professor Gilbert Murray in a letter to *The Times* this spring referred to China as in a state of social disruption. The fact is — and I speak as a man who has been in the country since 1911 — that during the first stage of the republican era (1911-1926) political disintegration became more and more evident, and with the breaking away from old traditions the closely interwoven fabric of society began to rend asunder. The people known as "war-lords" — in most cases, though not in all, a sinister kind of freebooter — came more and more to have things their own way. But then in 1926 to 1928 came the real democratic revolution. As I saw with my own eyes in an inland southern district and later in Peking, one of its main slogans was "Down with the war-lords". To a very large extent they were put out of action and the grosser abuses of the system diminished, if not completely abolished. We have to realise that the Central Government at Nanking came to power

through the very fear the Chinese people had of the process of disruption which they had begun to feel so acutely. And if it is countered that effective integration has not been achieved all over the country, then the reader must bear in mind the following facts. First, the National Government has been continuously in power since 1928, a longer period than any Government has attained since the foundation of the Republic. Second, the writ of this Government runs in some five or six provinces, and in the great majority of the rest the political leaders could not carry on if they were not members of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) and had not come to some sort of working agreement with Nanking. The only two exceptions to this are the Province of Szechuen, the most westerly and turbulent of all China's provinces, and the "communist belt". This latter has been a serious danger to the Nanking Government, but recently one big district has been cleaned up and a programme of rehabilitation put into effect there. Third, the Nanking Government has behind it a nation-wide organisation, the Kuomintang, which has its branches in every county outside the communist belt. This party may have been a disappointment to many patriots and well-wishers, but the point is that it has functioned continuously and this last spring held its Plenary Conference in Nanking and formulated a national policy to deal with the present crisis. In the light of these three facts we are warranted in maintaining with the Lytton Report, that "real progress has been made".

The next matter for our consideration is what the people of China, especially the students, are thinking and feeling about Japan. First of all, it is necessary to realise that the immemorial tradition among the peasant farmers is to mind their own business and leave political matters to their governors. That still holds good to a large extent, so that you can go into country districts almost everywhere and find people who have no feelings very much one way or another. On the other hand, during the last twenty years there has been a phenomenal development of newspaper reading; so that for instance, I have known people in remote country places who club together to get a Shanghai daily

paper by special letter delivery. The revolutionary movement in 1926 to 1928, with its expert propagandist work, also made a great change in the habits of the common people. They came to see that international relations had a way of affecting their livelihood and well-being in very vital fashion. This also applies to the propaganda done by the British during the Great War. China was sown down with a very well illustrated periodical, so that in every village you could find, posted up, pictures of the Allies' tanks and air-bombers and naval guns, etc., etc. To communities, who had just passed through the stage of fear of soldiers armed with service rifles to the stages of familiarity with them, there now came this new lesson as to what lethal machines could do in the way of wholesale slaughter. And on top of that has come now the ruthless conquest of Manchuria with the help of these same machines ; and, like a bolt from the blue, that horribly sanguinary war in Shanghai. It all adds up to this, that the Chinese, from the peasant and small shop-keeper up to the big banker and industrialist in the ports, see Japan as having for years had imperialistic designs on their country, as having continually interfered in their domestic quarrels and fostered division among their leaders, and now that the time is ripe breaking out at any point which suits their plans. The excruciating thing for the Chinese is, that their enemy occupies a strategic position all along their undefended coast and can within a few hours strike anywhere ; and that, when they do strike, there is no escape for a civilian population from bomb-raining skies.

The stages through which student opinion has moved, symbolise well enough the ebb and flow of opinion generally. When the Manchurian affair started there was not merely hot indignation against Japan, but also a sober realisation that China's own weakness was partly responsible for the *débâcle*. Following on that came a period of resentment against what they felt was the incompetency of their national leaders. The gallant defence made by the 19th Route Army at Shanghai brought a temporary wave of hope, but also demonstrated the appalling costliness of a positive combative policy. So during the autumn of last year a spirit of apathy descended

on the students. The Government set out to arouse public opinion over the defence of Jehol, and there are significant reports of sturdy patriotism among the peasants of Chih-li Province. But the students and commercial classes were too well-informed to believe that anything could save Jehol ; especially with such a man as General Tang Yiu-lin in control of the province. But now that Jehol is in Japanese hands, a new spirit is emerging, one which has been growing underneath for the last two years and more. It is shown by the fact that the Minister of Education has received a number of student telegrams saying : " You have always criticised and condemned our actions of the past, please instruct us what to do ". It is the spirit of a nation which finds itself with its back against the wall. It sees tens of millions of its nationals condemned to live under the repressive authority of a Government which thinks only in terms of Japanese glory and Japanese prosperity. It looks for the sword to fall any minute on Peiping and Tientsin, and so to the beginning of a drive towards Shantung. It realises that in this and every other way Japan will use all her power to force China into a private peace chamber, so that by solemn treaty and covenant she may legalise all her recent gains. And, most excruciating of all, nobody is in a position to estimate whether it would be wiser in the long run to come to terms now and so run the risk of giving Japan the opportunity to consolidate her conquests and prepare for the next advance, or wiser to allow her now by the sheer momentum of her military machine to involve herself in greater and greater difficulties. In any case, with their backs against the wall, the Chinese hate the Japanese as never before, and this national feeling is going to take generations to destroy. Remember that the Chinese are a very resilient and at the same time a very stubborn people. On the one hand, their climate has made them surprisingly long-suffering under the calamities which nature sends. They bow before the storm ; but they do not break. The very vastness of their country — a source of strength here and not of weakness — and the unbroken continuity of their spiritual traditions have made them feel in the inner places of their souls that, whatever may happen, the time will come when

they will get their own back again. Add on to this that their contacts with western nations and governments have been extremely instructive to them, both in a bad sense as well as in a good, and it will be plain that there is a situation in the Far East which is fraught with every conceivable kind of possibility, many of them as disastrous to the world as to the Chinese themselves.

In conclusion, I deal with one world aspect of this problem. It may be felt from what I have said that I am violently anti-Japanese, and therefore disqualified from regarding this larger aspect in a sane and sober spirit. As a matter of fact I have made serious efforts to understand the Japanese side and have come to sympathise a great deal with the Japanese people at this time when they are beset with so many domestic dangers. As a result of this sympathetic study I see them as above all needing friends, to help them out of their difficulties. I hope to God that they may get the friends they need. But not so long as they practise their present methods of recovering themselves at China's expense. Then too I am convinced that no nation in Europe is in a position to cast a stone at Japan. She has only been doing during these last two years what we all thought nothing of doing during the 18th and 19th centuries. None the less, the wisdom which we gained at so great a cost through the Great War, cannot be discarded because one nation sees in the bad old way the easiest way out of her difficulties. Not only for the sake of China but also for Japan's own sake she must be made to understand, as mobilised world opinion can make her understand, that her present policy is bound to end in failure.

That is the trouble today, the mobilisation of world opinion. First, that it can be mobilised effectually, has already been demonstrated, and with convincing force in the Shanghai war. For the first time in history there was on January 28th, 1932 an official body, the Secretariat of the League of Nations, which was in a position to call upon experienced and impartial officials on the spot to draw up and *publish* reports on what was taking place. Those reports, alongside of what the press published, shocked the world; and Japan knew it. There can be no doubt that this was one

of the main influences which compelled the Japanese to make peace without materialising the gains she had hoped to make. On the other hand, it is equally certain that the decision in January by the Assembly of the League did not represent an effectually mobilised opinion. That decision has not forfeited for Japan any of the substantial advantages which international friendship insures. Thus, for example, the Continuation Committee at Geneva is arranging that, while a passport cannot be issued for any foreigner who wants to go to Manchuria, yet a "*laissez passer*" can ! Owing to this dilly-dally attitude, the next act in the drama is now coming on to the stage.

On the one hand, the Japanese Army will press forward with its long-planned campaign in North China. That will be accompanied by sporadic incidents and bombing expeditions in the Yangtze Valley and South China : this to serve the double purpose of making South China as well as North throb with the pain of the conflict, and of bringing home to the Western Powers how much damage that conflict can do to their interests. Is Japan mad ? Not in the least. While General Araki is busy demonstrating the implications of his Monroe Doctrine for the Far East, as if that were Japan's only policy, at the same time a new political party will be getting together in Japan, a party which on the surface is in opposition to the militarist party. In reality its objective is the same, and the only distinction between it and the militarists will be that it is the *suaviter in modo* half to the *fortiter in re* other half. This party will denounce the militarists as attempting an impossible task and will take its stand on the principles of "peace and reasonableness" ! It will call for cooperation on the part of all nations in order to rehabilitate China — as distinct from Manchuria ! In this way we are all to be gently and forcibly persuaded to insist on China submitting to Japan on Japan's terms. There will be indemnities for foreign losses, but none for the millions of Chinese affected in Chih-li and Shantung. So there will be peace on the basis of reasonableness !

As far as I can see, in the present attitude of governments and preoccupation of western peoples, this is the most likely

thing to happen. Yet that course will be a betrayal of all our pledges at the League, a betrayal of all that the best minds and consciences since the Great War have struggled to establish in the hearts of the nations. It will set the clock back in China, God knows how many years, and create that horrible irredentist situation to which the Lytton Report refers in the gravest terms. And all the time, if world opinion were really mobilised and their governments instructed accordingly, there are still ways and means by which Japan could be made to understand that she is now at the parting of the ways. Either she can do justice to China and have the friendship of the world, or she can do injustice to China and go her way without friends. The more I have studied the Japanese people, the more I have come to believe that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, they have the courage and the honesty and the wisdom to make the sensible decision. But they will not do so, unless they are brought to the sharp decision by the uncompromising moral pressure of the whole world.

Jeunesse Annamite

George Bois

Ce titre doit être préféré à celui de « Jeunesse d'Indochine », car on ne peut guère parler d'une jeunesse du Cambodge, pays qui évolue encore bien lentement, et dont la jeunesse instruite reste très traditionnaliste. Encore moins peut-il être question du Laos, pays à bien des égards arriéré et isolé !

Il est d'ailleurs assez difficile de parler de cette jeunesse intellectuelle annamite, qui tout en aimant certains professeurs ou amis français, demeure cependant en général très discrète sur ses préoccupations, ses aspirations, ses idéals. Certes, on lui a largement ouvert la voie des études, et tout particulièrement en assimilant les examens de fin d'études secondaires indigènes aux baccalauréats métropolitains, en

créant dernièrement une faculté de droit et une école complète de médecine. Mais il faut le dire, on s'est beaucoup moins occupé de cette jeunesse au point de vue moral et spirituel. Bien souvent on l'a seulement observée, surveillée au besoin, alors qu'il aurait fallu aller à elle, la mettre simplement en confiance et l'aider.

Pour mieux pénétrer dans la mentalité de ces jeunes il ne sera peut-être pas sans intérêt de faire appel aux impressions de quelques jeunes ou à celles de ceux qui ne sont que de peu leurs aînés.

Voici tout d'abord ce que pense de la jeunesse annamite actuelle et de ses idéals Maître Le Van Kim, avocat en Cochinchine depuis peu d'années, et qui a fait d'excellentes études à Hanoï, puis en France. Dans une conférence faite à Saïgon, le 27 octobre 1932, devant près de 500 jeunes Annamites et quelques Français, nous l'avons entendu développer en un langage élégant et parfaitement aisé les considérations suivantes : il n'y a pas de vraie jeunesse annamite, a-t-il déclaré, presque brutalement, pour commencer. Alors qu'en France on reste jeune très tard, en Indochine le potentiel actif est beaucoup moins important, et puis il n'y a pas cette insouciance prise, d'ailleurs, dans le bon sens. Les soucis commencent au sortir de l'enfance ; c'est d'abord la famille qui se saigne à blanc pour l'instruction des jeunes, puis le mariage encore très jeune, et alors les enfants à élever et souvent les responsabilités s'étendent jusqu'au cercle de la grande famille patriarcale.

La jeunesse annamite d'Indochine ne présente pas en général, selon Maître Kim, les caractéristiques de la vraie jeunesse ; il reste cependant une jeunesse annamite intellectuelle plus libre, plus indépendante ; c'est celle qui va en France compléter ses études, parfois pour d'assez longues années. Le départ ému a longuement résonné dans l'âme sensible du jeune Annamite. Puis le cœur se calme et ce sont des projets fous d'avenir, de succès aux examens et d'assimilation plus profonde de la civilisation française, pour revenir au pays meilleur et plus capable. Une fois arrivé en France, c'est la frénésie d'apprendre. On jouit de cette nouvelle liberté, du milieu, du paysage, du nombre infini des outils de travail

intellectuel. Puis ce sont les diplômes que l'on s'efforce d'acquérir, nombreux pour mieux servir le pays. Puis il faut revenir, parfois brusquement, pour des raisons de famille, ou par impatience nostalgique. Mais c'est toujours un départ qui coûte, car il faut prendre congé de la France et de son cadre. On dit qu'on reviendra, mais c'est en général pour toujours. Au retour, nous dit Maître Kim, une pensée essentielle : servir. Mais en Indochine, au retour, que faire ? Heureusement que bien des postes sont ouverts dans l'administration à égalité avec les Français, cela depuis 1926. Il ne faut pas mésestimer ces jeunes « retour de France ». Pourquoi vouloir à toute force qu'ils se soient écartés des saines traditions extrême-orientales, et affirmer qu'ils seront incapables de se réadapter à leur milieu. La masse du peuple ne partage pas ce scepticisme. Bien au contraire, on pourrait même dire qu'elle attend trop de ces jeunes. Pourquoi mettre en eux une confiance illimitée, qui exige d'eux des merveilles ? Après tout, ils ne sont que des diplômés comme il y en a beaucoup en France, qui ne sont pas si fréquemment des personnalités marquantes. Il faudrait donc que les Annamites aident ces jeunes, qui reviennent désireux de s'employer utilement dans des activités d'importance moyenne. Qu'on ne leur demande pas de tout rénover, mais qu'on leur permette de travailler à éléver le niveau de vie et les réserves économiques de leur pays, si pauvre et si primitif dans ses campagnes. Ils désirent simplement être parmi les jeunes ceux qui ont profité de l'air de France et des facilités intellectuelles qu'on y trouve. N'ayant pas été handicapés, comme ceux restés en Indochine, physiquement, géographiquement, matériellement, moralement et même intellectuellement, ils veulent dans le souvenir reconnaissant de la France lointaine, qu'ils idéalisent d'ailleurs, travailler à une évolution progressive de leur pays, dans un sentiment national qui se précise, persuadés à juste titre que s'ils se montrent dignes et capables ils s'imposeront par là même.

En somme, conclut Maître Kim, cette jeunesse, retour de France dont il a fait partie lui-même, il n'y a pas si longtemps de cela, est privilégiée, d'elle on attend vraiment quelque chose ; elle représente d'ailleurs assez bien toute la

jeunesse annamite des écoles et même toute la jeunesse annamite. On n'a pas tort, pense-t-il, de mettre en elle quelque espoir, car on ne peut l'accuser de n'avoir pas d'idéal. Elle a voulu apprendre pour être utile, et elle persévère dans ce sens, une fois revenue en Indochine. Elle est digne qu'on manifeste envers elle une sympathie active.

Dans *L'Annam Nouveau*, journal annamite progressiste, apprécié des jeunes, qui paraît en français à Hanoï et représente la tendance modérée et réformiste dans un esprit à la fois réaliste et conciliant, nous avons relevé en date du 4 décembre 1932 un court article d'un jeune Tonkinois, M. Tai Truong, intitulé : *Plaidoyer*, où il s'élève avec entrain contre cette négation par trop nette et absolue de la jeunesse annamite demeurée en Indochine. « Qui donc l'a dit, qu'il n'existe pas de jeunesse annamite à proprement parler ?... Que notre aîné nous pardonne ! Le sacrifice qu'il veut nous imposer est trop grand. Nous tenons à notre jeunesse et ne pouvons pas encore accepter de vieillir. Sans doute, plus d'un parmi nous ont connu dès l'école les angoisses des lendemains incertains ; plus d'un ont dû, à mi-route, abandonner leurs études pour gagner leur vie, une vie souvent obscure et pénible. Mais cela n'empêche pas que de la jeunesse nous n'en ayons plein le cœur ! Nous en avons à revendre, n'en déplaise à nos aînés ! Car la lutte pour l'existence ne nous a pas empêchés de vivre notre âge... Nous avons la conviction de ne pas avoir encore « vieilli ». »

Mais voici une opinion plus nuancée sous le titre : *Inexistence de la Jeunesse ?*, article paru dans le même journal le 15 décembre 1932. En somme, ce jeune, moins jeune que Tai Truong, mais plus jeune que Le Van Kim, tout en défendant la jeunesse annamite, reconnaît avec Maître Kim qu'elle a vécu ses belles années dans de mauvaises conditions sociales et qu'elle n'a pas eu le chemin préparé par des générations d'anciens. « Il se peut que M^e Le Van Kim n'ait point tellement tort... Il nous est défendu d'être jeunes. Une seule chose nous est permise, les regrets sur nous-mêmes et sur cette société qui, en nous diminuant se diminue elle-même, mais qui n'a pas le courage de choisir et de renoncer à certaines traditions périmées qui nous entravent... A considérer l'ensemble d'une

génération, il n'y a rien d'osé à affirmer que les conditions sociales particulières où nous nous trouvons réduisent à néant l'existence de la jeunesse... La jeunesse ne peut véritablement exister que si les aînés lui ont ménagé d'heureux loisirs favorables aux méditations désintéressées et aux gestes novateurs. La jeunesse ne peut véritablement exister que si les pères ont été prévoyants et économes et ne croient avoir tout donné à l'enfant en lui donnant la naissance. La jeunesse ne peut véritablement exister, enfin, que dans une atmosphère de joie et de confiance, où l'encouragement des aînés seconde l'effort des jeunes, et où les cadets n'ont pas pour premiers ennemis leurs aînés hostiles, méfiant et violemment jaloux d'une autorité qu'ils veulent étendre à tous les domaines, même à ceux où le principe d'autorité n'a rien à voir. »

Est encore d'un avis analogue M. Nguyen Quang Zuyen qui, jeune lui-même (numéro du 20 décembre), avoue que « la génération qui monte est loin d'offrir un spectacle rassurant ». Il prononce même le mot de « décadence ». Il constate chez beaucoup une lassitude de vivre, une apathie rêveuse, une indifférence totale à l'égard des grandes inquiétudes, en un mot une vie vide. Rien d'étonnant dans ces conditions que les principaux défauts de cette jeunesse soient « le manque de caractère, l'incohésion et l'indiscipline ». Il faudrait donner à cette jeunesse l'esprit de suite et de méthode, notre enseignement s'y consacre d'ailleurs, mais aussi les meilleures raisons de vivre qui lui manquent.

Comme on le voit, l'ensemble de ces libres appréciations sur la jeunesse annamite constitue un émouvant appel en faveur d'une génération qui souffre d'un profond malaise qui tient à bien des causes. Et tout d'abord et surtout il y a une crise aiguë de croissance. Le peuple annamite passe par une transformation sociale difficile, puisqu'il s'agit de passer de la civilisation patriarcale confucienne à la civilisation à la fois plus individuelle et plus organisée socialement de l'Occident. Les jeunes intellectuels sont à l'avant-garde de cette évolution et bien souvent non seulement le peuple des campagnes, mais les parents, les amis plus âgés, ne les suivent pas. Dans cet état de transition ils ne savent où trouver un point d'appui. Et l'on comprend l'attraction très grande qu'exerce sur eux tout

l'Occident et par là il faut entendre, non seulement les forces de pensée et de vie occidentales, mais encore le sol occidental, le sol français. Mais exagérer dans ce sens ne serait pas sans inconvenient pour l'évolution progressive de l'ensemble du peuple annamite. Il y a là en tout cas l'occasion pour tout Français compréhensif vivant en Indochine d'exercer par sa sympathie agissante une sûre action sur les jeunes Annamites avec lesquels il peut entrer en contact.

On peut ajouter aussi que l'incertitude mondiale et les difficultés économiques ralentissent le développement normal d'un pays populeux encore très pauvre. Il n'y a pas de débouchés et d'activités possibles pour une jeunesse cultivée, qui par suite retombe dans les vieilles ornières et perd tout son acquis.

Que penser de cette jeunesse ? Et que fait-on pour elle ? Nous voudrions maintenant répondre en quelques mots à ces deux questions.

Et tout d'abord que vaut cette jeunesse ? En ce qui concerne les « retour de France », il est indéniable qu'il y a du déchet, soit à cause de maladies graves contractées par des organismes faibles en des climats très différents, soit à cause des tentations des grandes villes, spécialement pour les étudiants riches (ils deviennent d'ailleurs moins nombreux), soit enfin à cause de l'effet produit sur ces jeunes gens par de trop longues années passées loin du sol natal et de ses traditions. Au retour il y a bien souvent dépaysement, réadaptation délicate, parfois réabsorption dans la grande famille, milieu archaïque et fermé, ou impossibilité de trouver une situation en rapport avec les titres acquis, d'où quelques aigris qui se laissent aller aux idées extrémistes. Phénomène assez curieux, on voit des jeunes qui ne parlent que de retourner en France. Un jeune auteur annamite est en train, paraît-il, de préparer une pièce de théâtre qui aura pour titre : *Reparlir*.

En Indochine annamite il y a actuellement une petite élite encore peu nombreuse sans doute, mais fort intéressante, qui aux quatre coins du pays s'efforce avec entrain de travailler utilement et intelligemment. Sans parler de certains commerçants, riziculteurs, colons, industriels même, et colons qui forment la nouvelle bourgeoisie parfois passablement

égoïste, il y a des médecins, dont quelques-uns sont vraiment des hommes de valeur, quelques professeurs distingués, quelques avocats comme M^e Le Van Kim.

Que fait-on pour cette jeunesse ?

On doit reconnaître que la Direction de l'Instruction Publique a organisé de façon, sinon parfaite, du moins fort intelligente, les différents cycles d'études. On accède d'étage en étage par examens, qui sont pour tous les mêmes, et réalisent très simplement la sélection indispensable. Vaste école unique, l'enseignement indochinois officiel peut ainsi canaliser et limiter la population scolaire et n'accorde de diplômes que dans certaines limites, en particulier le baccalauréat indochinois. Très bien adapté au pays en ce qui concerne l'histoire et la géographie, l'enseignement littéraire et des langues anciennes et même la philosophie (répartie sur les trois années d'études secondaires locales et se terminant sur une étude comparée des morales et religions d'Occident et d'Orient). Enfin l'université ne compte plus seulement différentes écoles supérieures à orientation pratique, nettement spécialisées, il y a maintenant une faculté de droit, et l'on peut faire à Hanoï presque toutes ses études de médecine.

Pour cette jeunesse si soigneusement orientée au point de vue intellectuel, on fait bien peu moralement. Il y a, il est vrai, un internat bien organisé à Hanoï pour les étudiants, avec chambres, restaurant, et le surveillant général est un jeune professeur français dont le prédécesseur avait su attirer la confiance des jeunes. Sans doute aussi le *Bulletin de l'Instruction Publique* a-t-il étudié des questions morales et pratiques ; de plus, en 1931-1932, sous l'impulsion du Recteur Thala Mas une série de conférences ont eu lieu, avec pour idée centrale l'assistance sociale. Ces conférences étaient spécialement destinées aux étudiants.

Mais cela suffit-il ? Peut-on compter sur l'influence excellente mais très partielle de quelques professeurs français ou annamites estimés ? Il faudrait faire bien plus. Il semble que les missions catholiques l'aient compris, et qu'elles s'efforcent d'agir sur les jeunes des grands centres.

Du côté protestant il y a une mission protestante américaine, *The Alliance Mission*, qui travaille sérieusement,

formant de bons évangélistes et pasteurs indigènes. Elle a près de 6,000 convertis à travers toute l'Indochine. Elle réussit surtout dans les campagnes et n'atteint pas encore beaucoup la jeunesse instruite. Elle fait surtout de l'évangélisation populaire, n'a pas d'écoles et n'est pas outillée pour une œuvre suivie auprès des intellectuels.

Disons aussi qu'il y a en Indochine deux églises protestantes françaises, par suite deux pasteurs dont l'un à Saïgon et l'autre à Hanoï. Ils sont tout à fait favorables à une activité missionnaire parmi les jeunes. Celui de Hanoï, M. Calas, sent la nécessité d'attirer la jeunesse instruite, mais ne peut le faire lui-même, n'ayant pas le temps voulu et ne possédant pas la langue. M. Peyric, le pasteur de Saïgon, aurait aimé évangéliser la jeunesse annamite, notamment le milieu des petits fonctionnaires annamites, mais où trouver le temps pour cette activité ? Et surtout manquent la préparation, l'adaptation nécessaire.

Nous n'avons donc, nous, protestants, actuellement aucun point de contact organisé avec cette jeunesse, qui aurait tant besoin de sympathie, d'aide, d'inspiration, et qui parfois se laisse aller, se décourage, parce qu'incomprise des siens, méconnue dans ses meilleures aspirations par beaucoup de coloniaux.

The Background of Indonesian Student Life

C. L. VAN DOORN

In looking at the map of Asia one is immediately struck by the fact that the south-eastern part of Asia, in which nearly one-half of the world's population is living, is separated from the rest of the world by a huge range of mountains and by vast oceans. When tribes from Central Asia thronged through this northern barrier, the original inhabitants were often pushed towards the South and South-East. Numerous

large migrations, of which we can no longer trace the precise direction, have thus taken place, with the final result that in the extreme southern and south-eastern part a great number of peoples have found a refuge, and that, particularly in the Archipelago "an unequalled mixture of peoples came into being."

Pushed into the interior of one of the many islands, many tribes lost touch with the rest of the world, and fell a prey to animism. But the largest of the Indonesian peoples, particularly the Javanese and the Malay people of Sumatra, kept up relations with the surrounding peoples. Very close relations, for instance, continued to exist with India. In Java as well as in Sumatra, large empires came into existence under Buddhist or Hindu rulers.

The Javanese genius, however, did not leave the pure Hindu tradition untouched. The original popular customs were kept up, and much of the foreign spiritual tradition was rejected. The mixing of Hindu and Javanese life has been so complete in the course of time, that it is no longer possible to dismember Hindu-Javanism into its component parts. Finally contact with Hindustan was completely lost.

The situation is quite different with regard to Mohammedanism, which up to the present day continually receives fresh impulses from outside. Since its first appearance about 1300 A.D. it has extended its influence slowly but surely over Java and Sumatra and over other large parts of the Archipelago. But Mohammedanism had also to pass through the sieve of Javanese life. Only those elements of the new religion were adopted which could be brought into harmony with indigenous spiritual aspirations. For the Javanese were particularly attracted by its mystical side. Thus a form of Islamic life developed, which was far from being orthodox. This does not alter the fact that 95% of the Indonesians feel themselves "orang Islam" (real Mohammedans). Moreover, as a consequence of the strong relations with Mekka (there have been years when 35% of the pilgrims to Mekka were Indonesian) and with Cairo, where there are many Indonesian students, Mohammedanism in the Archipelago is growing more and more orthodox.

In course of time the number of Indo-Chinese and Indo-Europeans has steadily increased. Although nearly all of these consider themselves indigenous inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, the relation with their country of origin is never completely broken off. The relations with China are very old, as old as those with India. As merchants and artisans the Chinese conquered an important place in the Archipelago. At the present time they number more than a million, i.e. 2% of the total population. Many customs and methods of preparing the products of the soil have been adopted by the Indonesian population from the Chinese. Nevertheless generally speaking the two groups have kept apart from each other.

With regard to the immigrants from the West, it should be pointed out that there is no country in the south-eastern part of Asia where the number of inhabitants coming from the West is so large in proportion to the total number of the population. The proportionate number of Europeans in India, including the Anglo-Indians, is 7/8 per thousand, but in the Indonesian Archipelago it is 3½ per thousand. Contact with the West means the invasion of technical civilisation, and of ideas of individuality, liberty, democracy and progress. Life, especially in the larger centres, bears a rather pronounced western character, and shows all the advantages and disadvantages of western life. Only in agrarian surroundings the old way of life has not yet been much disturbed.

Altogether there are now more than one million Protestant Christians, i.e. 2% of the total population. This is a larger proportion than in any other Oriental country, except Korea. The Christians are by no means evenly divided over the whole country. The area round the Java Sea, where Islam had a strong influence up till now, has been nearly inaccessible. On the other hand, many Christians are found in the more remote parts of the country, the extreme East (Moluk Islands, New Guinea), in the northern and central part of Celebes, in North Sumatra (the Bataks) and the southern part of Java.

The Christians in the different areas do not have much contact with each other. But many of the Christians from

the different parts of the Archipelago have settled down in the big cities of Java, where they earn their living or complete their studies, and amongst these a sense of unity is slowly growing up. Our small Student Christian Movement is one of the meeting-grounds, where Indonesians meet each other as well as Christian students of other races.

In recent years the sense of unity among Indonesians is growing stronger. This tendency is of the utmost importance for the position of Christians and for the future of missionary work. Under the influence of the modern nationalistic currents, a large number of the more highly educated wish to take a united position against the colonial power. The name Indonesian, formerly an ethnological term, is becoming more and more a battle-cry and the Malay language is taking the place of the original national idioms.

Opinions diverge as to whether the population of Indonesia forms a real unity or not. There are those who, pointing to the diverging process of development of the different peoples and the vast differences in national character, hold their unity to be an illusion. Others, on the contrary, believe that this unity is real, because it lives to such a high degree in the hearts of the leaders. The truth is somewhere in between these two viewpoints. Daily experience shows that in many respects unity is still lacking ; but, at the same time, that it is growing.

The tendency towards unity is illustrated by the development of student movements. Until 1926 the only associations known among students were regional in character. There was already a " League of Young Moslems ", constituted in 1924 ; but a united national organisation, of a more general character, had not yet come into being. Under the influence of the university students the " Indonesia Moeda " was founded in 1929. The older associations were dissolved. Malay was chosen as the language for meetings and congresses, the various vernaculars being no more used for this purpose. Particularly for the Javanese, who have a rich and beautiful language of their own, this must have been a difficult decision.

It cannot be denied, that Christianity is often regarded as a dividing rather than as a uniting power. This judgment

however shows that a deeper sense of what unity means has not yet been reached. Are there not many nations, which are divided by mutual strife, in spite of their having officially only one confession ?

In the last analysis, the important question at stake is, which way God intends to go with the peoples of the Archipelago. What place has He prepared for them in His plan for the world ? There is much consolation and encouragement in the knowledge that God's promises are given, not only to some people and some nations, but to everyone who is willing to accept them. According to *our* notions, the future of the world depends upon those countries which are playing a great rôle in its present history. Is this also God's notion ?

THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

The Student Christian Movement of Java

It is to be hoped that the coming Java Conference will be a milestone in the development of the World's Student Christian Federation and of the Student Christian Movements in the south-eastern part of the Asiatic Continent and on the islands bordering on the Pacific. The Student Christian Movement of Java will certainly receive a very special inspiration from it. It is therefore worth while to give a short sketch of the origins and the present position of this Movement.

Because of its economic possibilities, its fertility and the size of its population and also because of its cultural tradition, the island of Java is considered as the centre of the Indonesian Archipelago, and it is therefore natural that secondary and higher education have been concentrated there. Most institutes of higher education are of recent date. The only exception is the medical school in Batavia, which was founded in the fifties of the last century and which has now developed to a place of almost equal standing to European medical faculties. Today there are three institutes of higher education which form, as it were, the faculties for a future full-fledged university. These are the technical high-school at Bandoeng with 125 students, the Faculty of Law at Batavia with about 250 students, and the Faculty of Medicine at Batavia, with about 300 students. In addition to these there are a teachers' college and a medical college at Soerabaja.

The fact that all higher education is concentrated in Java means that most students live far away from their homes (sometimes at a distance of ten days). They are no longer under the control of their family, and are faced with the distractions and temptations of city life and with conditions which are utterly different from the traditions of the rural background in which they have grown up. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that there should be organisations which take an interest in these younger people. This is one of the motives which have led to the formation of youth movements and student associations. Apart from this rather negative reason there is, however, the more positive motive of creating centres of spiritual life. This makes the work which has been done by Dr. and Mrs. van Doorn, who were sent by the Dutch Student Christian Movement to

Batavia in 1922, so important. Their work was originally largely limited to youth of adolescent age, but they are now giving all their time to students. The visit of Dr. Mott and Dr. Rutgers in 1926 has also meant a great deal to the young Movement.

At a conference held at Christmas of last year, the various local associations formed a united National Movement, which expressed the desire of becoming a part of the World's Student Christian Federation in order to witness in the student world of Java *ut omnes unum sint*. It is hoped that the new Movement may be officially accepted into the fellowship of the Federation at the time of the Java Conference.

At the time of writing the Movement has 67 members. It is steadily growing, and includes Indonesian and Chinese as well as European students.

Many of the Christian students are, of course, adherents of the nationalist movement. But although their national sentiment is strong, they do not absolutise it, but subordinate it to their religious convictions. It is, of course, very regrettable if certain Europeans misunderstand this nationalism and oppose it, or even declare its incompatibility with the spirit of Christianity, for such an attitude often creates suspicion towards Christianity and may lead to the breaking away from all Christian movements.

For the future of the Student Christian Movement it is essential that both sides should refrain from exaggeration. This is all the more important because the regenerative force of Christianity has not yet had time to influence the lives of Christian Indonesians very deeply. The care for the spiritual life of students has been neglected until recently, and we can therefore not claim that we have passed beyond the stage of encouraging beginnings. Moreover, the young people who come to Java for their studies may easily lose touch with their own Church or missionary background. As they come away from their own country with impressions regarding the work and methods of one particular missionary group or even of one particular missionary, their critical mentality leads them often to decide to break with all Christianity. And finally the formation of spiritual leaders has been too much neglected. There are too few leaders from the ranks of the Indonesians themselves who can present Christianity adequately to a critical generation.

Fortunately we may speak of an encouraging change. Apart from Church and Mission a new desire has arisen to go back to Christ as the source of life. Our leaders have the great duty, to lead this spiritual movement with tact and wisdom, and not with western Church methods.

It is not true that the young Christian Indonesians are "through" with Christianity, and that they look for other religions or philosophies. It is rather that in their country of origin they have not yet come to a deep living experience of Christianity, and that therefore the weak survivals of their religious life may easily disappear in that critical period of life when they are uprooted from their own background and traditions. The Christian Indonesian cannot fall back on his old religion, nor can he return to an old culture, for his particular situation is that he is faced with the task of working out a new culture of his own. Just at this critical moment Christ appears again in a new form in his life. Will he follow Him?

T. S. G. MOELIA

German Protestantism at the Cross-Roads

During these last weeks the German Protestant Church has lived through one of the most dramatic periods of its history.

A description of this period in at least some of its most important aspects can, of course, not claim absolute historical accuracy. But the issues are too important to postpone the discussion until it is all over and until historians can give their balanced judgment. This article, which is based on personal conferences during a recent visit to Germany with a considerable number of Germans, who have been very closely connected with the events described, does not pretend to be more than a preliminary evaluation of the position.

Soon after the revolution the leaders of the German Protestant Church Federation, a loose grouping of the many regional Churches, decided to take the initiative in starting a process of reconsideration of the structure of German Protestantism. President Kapler together with Bishop Mahrarens of Hannover (Lutheran) and Dr. Hesse (Reformed) were chosen to draft the plans for this complete re-constitution of the Church. At the same time Chancellor Hitler decided to appoint Pastor Müller of Königsberg (an army-chaplain) as his liaison-officer for all relations between the government and the Protestant Churches. These four leaders together at a meeting at Loccum, in the week before Ascension, agreed on the main outlines of the "faith" as well as the "order" of the future "Reichskirche". It was decided that the united German Church would have a "Reichsbischof" at its head. The question of Pastor Müller, whether this national bishop should not be elected

in collaboration and in agreement with the government, was answered negatively, since the Constitution of Weimar allows complete freedom to the Churches in the choice of their authorities. Pastor Müller accepted this explanation as correct, but requested that no final choice for the episcopate be made until he had called on the Chancellor. Since he made it clear that this was a matter of politeness and would not imply political interference with the appointment to be made, the Church authorities acceded to this request.

In the week of Ascension Day, Pastor Müller was appointed as leader of the rapidly growing movement of "German Christians", which stands for a far-reaching integration of Church and state. In these days this movement began to act as if it represented the Churches officially and chose on May 23rd Pastor Müller as candidate for the national episcopate. When this decision became known the Church authorities replied that they were already quite agreed in the choice of the official candidate, and when they heard that the Chancellor could not receive either Pastor Müller or the three delegates of the Churches, they decided to tell the press that agreement as to the candidate had been reached. One press agency added that the person in question was Pastor Müller. Thus the authorities were forced to reveal that their candidate was Dr. von Bodelschwingh.

On May 26th the official representatives of the regional Churches, all of them invested with full power by their respective Churches came together for the definite vote. Two votes were taken — the first giving a substantial majority for Dr. von Bodelschwingh, the second giving to the same candidate all votes except those of three Churches.

The "German Christians" reacted with an immediate protest, which was broadcasted all over Germany. It was said that the agreement of Loccum had been broken, since this implied that the new national bishop would be elected by a general Church referendum. The Churches answered, however, that such an agreement was never made and proceeded to the inauguration of Dr. von Bodelschwingh.

The present situation is as follows : the new bishop has entered on his functions — but a large section does not accept him as such. Chancellor Hitler has so far refused to receive him and withholds his official recognition. But President Hindenburg has sent a letter of congratulation. Consequently a great struggle has broken out in the Church between those who stand for Bishop von Bodelschwingh and those who stand for "Bishop-in-spe" Müller.

The "German Christians" represent a movement of a most heterogeneous character. They have taken their origin from a group of noisy Church-politicians (at first there were practically no theolo-

gians or Church-leaders on their side) who would at all costs have the Church fall in line with the political situation. As they have grown rapidly, and as they have become semi-official through the appointment of Chancellor Hitler's delegate as their leader, they have however attracted men of considerable influence, such as Professor Hirsch of Göttingen and Fezer of Tübingen. But even today the politicians rather than the theologians hold real power in the movement.

Their propagandist possibilities are almost unlimited, not only because they imitate the methods of the national-socialist party, but also because they can use the radio and the press as much as they like, while the defenders of Bodelschwingh have almost no means of contact with the masses other than the ordinary means of Church-life.

The strength of their appeal consists positively in their emphasis on their loyalty to the new government and negatively in their (often most crude) denunciations of their opponents as "counter-revolutionaries", "conservatives" or "cowards". The weakness of their appeal is, however, in the fact that their candidate is by no means a man of great spiritual or intellectual and organisational power.

The groups which stand for Bishop von Bodelschwingh are characterised by their quality rather than by their quantity. They include all those who believe in the independence of the Church and who distinguish clearly between the spiritual and the political spheres. It is on their side that one finds most of the outstanding Church-leaders and theologians. Most of those who have been influenced by the theological renewal in post-war Germany are staunch supporters of the duly elected national bishop. The strongest element in their cause is certainly the personality of Dr. von Bodelschwingh, who represents a great Christian family tradition as well as one of the finest institutions of practical Christian charity in the world and whose gifts as a spiritual leader are generally admitted.

No one inside or outside of Germany can as yet tell what will be the outcome of this tragic controversy. It may be that Dr. von Bodelschwingh can make such an impression on the Church and on the government that the storm around him will calm down. It may be that the "German Christians" will succeed in forcing through a Church referendum and that by their demagogic methods they will be able to carry the majority of the Church with them. It may be that the only solution will prove to be the choice of a third person who does not belong to either party. And it may be that the divisions will become so fundamental that they will result in separation, and that Dr. von Bodelschwingh's meaningful references in his first episcopal statement to forthcoming sufferings for the German Church will come true.

But whatever may be the outcome, it is certain to be of decisive importance for the future of Christianity in Germany. For behind the questions of persons, of parties and of *modus procedendi* there looms up the much more important question of the relations between Church and state, and between Church and government. The real issue is whether the Church is to regard itself as supranational, as utterly dependent on God and therefore independent of the state, or rather whether it should accept a "Gleichschaltung", an identification of its life with a totalitarian state and thus give up its inner independence. If the "German Christians" demand a "racial expression" of Christianity, if they reject the œcumical task of the Church, if they absolutise the nation as "the highest value to be found in creation", they introduce in reality a sort of bi-theism, a worship of two absolutes at the same time.

It is, therefore, clear that the Protestant world outside Germany cannot remain indifferent to this great struggle over the future of the German Churches. A united German Church would represent the largest single unit in Protestantism. If such Church became a great power-house of free spiritual life, and if at its head it had a man of such calibre as Bisshop von Bodelschwingh, it could become the backbone of World-Protestantism as well as of the œcumical movements.

Geneva, June 15, 1933.

V. 't. H.

Note of June 26th:

The last news from Germany received, after the above article had been set up, indicates that Bishop von Bodelschwingh has been forced to resign "because the appointment of a government-commissar for the Church in Prussia makes it impossible for him to carry out his task".

What should we think of the Federation?

In the "Federation number" of Eltheto, organ of the Dutch S.C.M., one of its editors has analysed and compared the various conceptions of our World's Student Christian Federation which have been presented in recent numbers of The Student World. We would be glad if others would take part in this important discussion, for the issues raised in this article are of basic importance for the future of the Federation and must be clarified.

"What should we think of the Federation?" is the title of an article by the Swedish student, A. Eeg-Olofson, in *The Student World*¹. Olofson begins by stating that it is difficult to awaken vital interest among students for the Federation. Impatiently many ask, what practical results the Federation has shown so far. This impatience seems, according to Olofson, also to have become characteristic of Federation leadership, which makes a great effort to convince itself and others that the Federation is a reality. They want it, therefore, to become an organic unity, a living body, of which each national movement feels itself a vital part, receiving inspiration from the same heart.

Olofson feels, however, that in making this claim Federation leaders leave the realm of reality. For such a Federation would need leadership which surpasses in spiritual and intellectual gifts the leadership of national movements. Mott was such a leader, but for the moment we have no one like him. We should, therefore, to-day simply keep watch near the smouldering fire of the Federation. We should be content with a movement, which presents a common platform on which the members can exchange their opinions and experiences, in the hope that a richer spiritual communion may result in the long run from it.

So far Olofson, whose opinions are obviously directed against those of Francis Miller, Chairman of the Federation, who has been defining a very different type of Federation conception.

The ideal of Miller is "the Federation as a pioneer of a *world community*". Again and again he comes back to this point in his articles and pamphlets. "The Federation is the experimental model of a world community"². "What is wanted is not so much a rallying-point for defeated and discouraged groups, but a pioneer battalion to lay down the lines along which the great spiritual advance of the future may be expected to take place"³. And in one of his last pamphlets he summarises the task of the Federation for our time clearly as "to make the makers of a new world civilisation". He feels, therefore, that we should not be content with a Federation which is simply a common platform or a telephone exchange, and he is never tired of presenting his ideal of the world community as the real objective for Federation members.

"Romanticism!" Olofson would exclaim. "We should take care to avoid the idealistic and romantic ways of thought which are attached to the idea of organic unity"⁴.

¹⁾ First Quarter, 1933.

²⁾ *Student World*, January 1929, page 3.

³⁾ *Message Paper*, no. 1, page 5.

⁴⁾ *Student World*, First Quarter 1933, page 63.

We have, therefore, two different visions of the Federation before us, which are diametrically opposed, and we must ask ourselves which of the two we will make our own. Miller's ideal has something fascinating about it, because it expresses a desire to give an objective of great dimensions to the Federation, an objective which can really appeal to our faith and our devotion, and which is, moreover, quite in keeping with the needs of our time. We cannot, however, overlook the somewhat sobering reflections of Olofson. Although the general impression created by his article is one of retreat, of unwillingness to accept the great task which is imposed on us by the situation, one cannot help feeling that his objection regarding "the romanticism" of Francis Miller's conception is to a certain extent justified.

I do not mean to say, that Miller's ideal in itself is unreal. On the contrary. The world is becoming more and more unified in its technical and economic aspects. But there are no men available to handle the new international apparatus. If such men do not appear before long, this whole process will lead to anarchy and chaos, every country will cut itself off from the others, and the opposition between nations will become so acute that international catastrophe is inevitable.

It is, therefore, not simply a private idealistic hobby of Miller, to present this larger task to the Federation. It is rather the outcome of an understanding of the signs of the times, and an attempt to read in the difficulties of the present world situation what is asked from the Federation today. No, we dare not reject this responsibility.

It must, however, be said that Miller's experimental model of a world community becomes "romantic" if we do not remain conscious of two important facts. The first is, that we are a Federation of *students*. As students we stand outside the social order, in which the hard struggle for existence goes on. Materially we can be relatively care-free. To be a student implies that we do not immediately participate in the difficulties of life in the world with its social, economic and political concerns.

But if this is so, the question must be raised, if a movement of those who stand outside the social order is in a position to become an experimental model for a world community? The very problems which have to be solved in order to create a world community are those of the realms with which, as students, we have no immediate contact. As a student federation we are, therefore, not the most competent group to pioneer for a world community.

Practically, however, we are more than a student federation. Our committee-members and secretaries, who determine to a large extent the policy of our Federation, are no longer students. They

can, therefore, neutralise this difficulty to a certain extent. They share, however, with the students another limitation, namely, that they have come out of a very special class, that is the "intelligentsia" which has little contact with the great masses of mankind. This is, of course, not their fault, but rather their destiny, just as their position outside the social order is the destiny of students.

This second characteristic implies another very important limitation of the task of our Federation. It means that the life and experience of the great masses does not find expression in our ranks. All that lives and moves among them may be studied and understood to some extent from books, but there remains a great gulf between such indirect knowledge and the actual reality of the life of the working classes themselves.

* * *

While these two limitations make me somewhat sceptical regarding Francis Miller's conception of the Federation, I believe, however, that the task which he formulates must be accomplished. In what way? By minimising the limitations under which we suffer at present. This means, first of all, to relate our studies and our student life in general in various ways more definitely to the social order. But especially by creating living contact between the intelligentsia and the masses, so that the intellectuals become pioneers in the interests of the masses. Conrad Hoffman has formulated this very clearly: "We have escaped from the toiling masses into a more congenial world materially conceived; and if we analyse the underlying elements we discover that our escape from the deadening drudgery of their life is largely the result of the sweat of their brow. But once having escaped we forget them — we actively or passively allow them to remain where they are so that we in turn remain in our more favourable circumstances. We do not relate ourselves back into their lives. That is the root of proletariat youth's denial of our religion. We have lost touch. Organised Christianity is accordingly discredited and we with it. They expect nothing from us unless it be continued opposition to their struggle upwards or continued exploitation "¹.

Contact with the social order, but especially living contact with the workers, are needed emphases of the Student Christian Movement in all countries, if the Federation is to have any significance for the world community. But if these contacts have been made, that does not yet mean that a real community has been created. It may be that then the Federation will come to a period of inner struggle. It

¹) *Student World*, January 1924, page 111.

may be that little world community will become visible, and that we must be grateful if we have simply a common platform which enables us to listen to each other in confidence. However this may be, we would, in any case, then have a realistic basis for our discussions.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that without the vertical contact (with the concrete needs of our own people and especially of the great masses of labour), the horizontal contact (with students of other countries) becomes unreal. Unless we see this, our Federation cannot become what Miller rightly demands of it : the experimental model of a world community.

F. BOERWINKEL

The Sino-Japanese Conflict and the Japanese Pacifists

The following is the text of an address delivered at the Plenary Assembly at Montreux of the International Federation of League of Nations' Societies by Mr. Morikatsu Inagaki, European representative of the Japanese League of Nations Society. In it Mr. Inagaki explains why Japanese pacifists cannot accept the resolution adopted by this Assembly which proposes " collective diplomatic, economic and financial measures " to be taken against Japan. The statement with regard to the action of the British League of Nations Union refers to a document of 1932 in which this organisation mentioned the possibility that Japan would " demand a free entry for Japanese colonists into Australia " as an argument for effective joint action to " restrain Japanese aggression ".

We print this address with Mr. Inagaki's permission, since it helps to complete the information on the various aspects of the Sino-Japanese situation contained in the article of Mr. Hughes in this number.

During the last twenty months I have often thought of the responsibilities of Japanese pacifists. I have wondered why we pacifists have not been more insistent that our Government should submit the dispute to the League of Nations — the dispute which already existed ten years ago. Why did we not foresee that sooner or later it must end in an explosion ?

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Japanese League of Nations Association has continually pointed out to Chinese public opinion the danger of their anti-foreign policy, and has often condemned it as likely to lead to war.

Why did our Association not submit this question to your meetings ? For this I must lay the blame on the Japanese pacifists. In Japan, it was thought not only that the League of Nations, which deals with European political questions, was not in a position to solve the Asiatic problem, but that this was a special case — that is to say the Manchurian dispute was in the eyes of Japan almost an internal question. Unfortunately the Japanese still hold that view.

Then came September 18th, 1931, bringing with it the explosion of the conflict which had been simmering for the last ten years. Had the whole world known of the long existence of this dispute, it is possible that the League of Nations, after China's appeal in September 1931, would have proposed a different solution.

Most of the political questions dealt with by our Federation were European; the only one brought up by the Japanese Association was that of emigration. At the time of that discussion a few years ago, the British League of Nations Union showed the most conciliatory spirit and I have noticed the broadminded attitude with which these colleagues approach questions of world-peace. Even this time, the German delegation has come to Montreux with the full intention of establishing peaceful relations, in spite of their difficult position in regard to one special question.

For these reasons, it is with the deepest regret that I find it impossible to follow your example today, and that I must vote against your resolution, for the simple reason that the differences of opinion between yourselves and the supporters of the League of Nations Association in Japan as to the methods to be used for the solution of the conflict are too great.

Japanese pacifists consider the method of sanctions a dangerous one. They know that the Japanese navy is strong enough, not only to blockade the whole of the Chinese continent, but to cut off communication on all sides. There would be great danger of a naval war. The American fleet remains in the waters of the Pacific, doubtless for reasons of economy. Under these conditions and in such an atmosphere, successful propaganda in Japan for naval disarmament is almost impossible.

Most of the supporters of peace and of the League of Nations in Japan are still distrustful of European and American pacifists. However, living in Europe, I do my best to make my compatriots believe in the sincerity of your wishes. Permit me to give you an example :

Last year the Japanese pacifists misunderstood the sincerity of the attitude of the British League of Nations Union. The misunderstanding arose with regard to an explanatory note of the

British League of Nations Union's resolution dealing with the Sino-Japanese conflict.

In that note, the British League of Nations Union insisted on the necessity of a firm attitude towards Japan, and drew the attention of public opinion in Great Britain to the future danger in the question of emigration to Australia. I am fully conscious of the sincerity underlying this resolution, but the feelings of my friends in Japan were greatly stirred by this declaration of the British League of Nations Union.

Further the misunderstandings, or perhaps more correctly the distrust, of European pacifists still exist in Japan. Each time you in Europe adopt a resolution on the application of boycott in Japan, thoughts immediately turn to the commercial competition between that country and the states of Europe. Unfortunately the Japanese do not believe that the measures taken by the European nations are always taken in the interests of the nations of Asia. On the contrary, they think that there is too much competition in the textile industry between Japan and Great Britain.

Apart from these misunderstandings I feel that the resolution before you will only result in weakening the League of Nations movement in Japan.

After this explanation of the reasons which have today led me to take up this attitude in opposition to you, I dare hope that you will energetically pursue your mission in the vanguard of peace, and I hope that you will continue courageously as in the past your work in the cause of peace.

THE EDITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

The South

The last diary was finished in Kansas just before I started to explore the strange and to me new world of the South. Southern students will forgive me if I confess that the strongest impressions which I brought away from their part of the world were not gained in the colleges but rather in the Spanish Missions and Mexican restaurants of San Antonio, in the Vieux Quartier and on the banana-wharfs of New Orleans, or in the Negro villages of Alabama. For there is still underneath the civilised surface a curiously primitive South, at once crude and healthy, which brings the over-civilised Northerner easily under its spell. I could not help writing:

*The South is honest but, oh God, how cruel !
Life does not hide itself, but it explodes
In blinding colour, sensual appetite,
In Jim Crow law or in the carnival
And in the outline of convulsive trees ;*

and a good deal more which would be out of place in this solid and somewhat unpoetic magazine.

I did not, however, spend all of my time writing poetry for there were many colleges to be visited. Four of these were Negro institutions which gave me a much appreciated opportunity to come to know the southern Negro student. What a difference between him and his northern brother. On the basis of contact with young Negroes from New York I had expected to find signs of growing unwillingness to accept the present social and racial order and of a determination to change it whatever the cost. And I was, therefore, astonished to find these students so patient and relatively uncritical.

I was glad to find that their faith is not altogether vain. The "Inter-racial Councils" are making steady progress and in the realm of academic life especially inter-racial contacts have been much more frequent of late. Our Student Movement alone has in this last winter been responsible for a whole series of special conferences where students of both races could meet together for fellowship and discussion. On one point, however, the Negro student seems to have become extremely critical — namely in his attitude to religion. The explanation is, of course, that the traditional religion of his race

strikes the young intellectual Negro as utterly antiquated. The dramatic intensity and simplicity of the old Negro piety does not redeem its intellectual deficiency and crudity in his eyes. The danger is, of course, that the healthy reaction against primitive forms of religion becomes a reaction against all religion and that the old mood of "you may have the world, if I may have Jesus" may turn into the mood, "To hell with heaven", as I heard a young Negro communist exclaim in Harlem. It is, therefore, encouraging to note that the recent integration of the Negro student work in the American movement may mean a strengthening of the work in Negro-colleges.

New York

To return to New York after visits in so many quiet and far-away places is to plunge again into the wild currents of modern life. For New York discusses everything under the sun. And our Federation has almost nowhere a group of more loyal but at the same time more critical friends. At meetings in Union Theological Seminary, at the Student Movement dinner, where I spoke on the Federation, in the "retreats" of the American Movement on the subjects of our Commission on Christian Faith and Life, at 347 Madison Avenue and 600 Lexington Avenue, and last not least at Yale with its Seminary and its incomparable Dwight Hall one found a keen desire to share in the life of the Federation and to think through the issues with which it is now confronted.

York

Back to Europe, and a Europe very different from that of January. Paris, Geneva, London all discussing the significance of the German revolution and wondering what it would mean to the world. At York a meeting of leaders of the "ecumenical" movements at Bishopsthorpe, renowned for its generous host and its beautiful gardens. Is it not striking that, if ten officers of six international Christian movements meet, nine out of the ten prove to be either former secretaries or former presidents of our Student Christian Movement? It is not to be wondered at that in these circumstances there is hope for a great deal more collaboration between these various bodies. But it means also that we have to ask ourselves constantly if we are still preparing students for positions of Christian world leadership who can some day take their places alongside of such leaders as Mott, Oldham, Ammundsen, and the Archbishop of York.

Lyons and Aix-les-Bains

A curious day at Lyons where the local association wanted to test the possibility of a Mission-Week, similar to the one in Paris, and where they had, therefore, called a meeting in a large hall for the whole student body, when I was to speak on "Youth in 1933". The students came in great numbers, as they did in Paris. And they stayed for long discussions, which centred especially in the spiritual significance of the German situation. There is still hope for international relations if French students can discuss so objectively and listen so sympathetically when the most delicate of international issues is being dealt with.

At Aix-les-Bains, where student-movers of Lyons, Grenoble and Geneva met together, the centre of interest was in the re-discovery of the evangelistic task of our movement. Both Lyons and Geneva expressed their keen desire to get away from self-centred discussions and to embark on the spiritual adventure of active evangelism among their colleagues. Thus the Paris Week of January continues to change the lives of associations as well as individuals. In addition to Lyons and Geneva, Montpellier and Strasbourg are already actively engaged in the preparation of Missions to their universities and Paris has decided to repeat its experiment of January.

With the Russians in Paris

A two days' conference under the chairmanship of Dr. Mott with the purpose of surveying the whole conglomeration of Christian activities carried on among the Russian emigrés left the strong impression of the extraordinary wealth of spiritual life which this relatively small group may call its own. There are the Theological Academy — the only higher theological institute of Russian Orthodoxy in the world — the Technical Institute, the Correspondence School, the Religious Pedagogical Cabinet, the Y.M.C.A. Russian Press, the Religious Philosophical Academy and, last not least, the Russian Student Christian Movement with its work for students, boys and girls, its rural work, its service to the unemployed, its Sunday-Schools and its "Union of Christian Physicians". More than ever did it become clear that this work must not be allowed to fail and that we must all stand by our Russian friends. They need our help, but equally do we need them. For we have only begun to learn the great lessons which the Russian emigration, purified by much suffering, has to teach us. Professor Berdiaev emphasised the providential character of the contacts between East and West, which had become possible through the presence of so many Russians in Western Europe. Let us not miss this great opportunity.

Germany

Why does one assume that a political revolution will change a country from top to bottom? Somehow Clarence Shedd and I, when arriving at the frontier, were astonished to find everything so "ordinary". As a matter of fact much has changed in Germany, but more has remained unchanged. Political life — even in Germany today — is not all of life. German students and student leaders are certainly deeply impressed by the national "awakening", but they have not ceased to sing and to discuss and to make fun.

The five or six hundred members of the German Movement who came to Neu-Saarow by bicycle and motor-bus from all German universities expected much from their first "Reichstagung". For they wanted a clear lead as to the future of their movement in the changed conditions of national, religious and academic life. On one thing they were all agreed, namely that something significant had happened to their country: that it had re-discovered its identity as a nation. And they wanted to relate their movement's life to this new national consciousness. Outwardly this became visible in their desire for more discipline and less individualism, in the torch-processions and the joint gymnastics as well as in the almost liturgical character of their "Thing", at which the new constitution was adopted. And in a less tangible form this new national consciousness permeated all discussions on "God and the Nation", "God and the Church" and "God and You".

But it should not be thought that they had any inclination to subordinate their Christian convictions to their national ideals. On the contrary. In the addresses as well as in the practical decisions and, last not least, in their attitude to the World's Student Christian Federation they made it very clear that their first loyalty was to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and that other loyalties should be subservient to this greater one. They may not all work this out in exactly the same way, but as a movement they have once more committed themselves to their common and central goal. The addresses of their leaders, especially those of Hanns Lilje and Reinhold von Thadden contained a clear and sober biblical message of man's need, individual as well as national, for God's grace and of obedience to Him alone. On behalf of the Federation (I felt more than ever that I really spoke for the Federation as a whole) I was allowed to thank the German Movement for all they had given to us in the past and to express the conviction that today more than ever do we need to realise that in the Federation God holds us together in spite of all that would divide us.

V. 't H.

BOOK REVIEWS**Spineless Missions**

RETHINKING MISSIONS (Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry), *Harper and Brothers, New York, 1932.*

It has become difficult to judge the Laymen's Inquiry on its own merits, for the flood of literature which it has called forth and the many discussions about it in which one has participated, must of necessity colour one's judgment. This difficulty is, however, considerably minimised by the fact that the opinions expressed about its value are so widely divergent that in the end one is still left to one's own choice rather than anyone else's evaluation. If, for instance, Pearl Buck speaks of "a unique and great book... right in its every conclusion", and if Kagawa speaks of his disappointment because this report presents "missions without the Cross", because "it lacks a militant spirit" and because it "is shot through with liberalism", economic as well as theological, we must surely make up our own mind as to which of these authorities is right.

It is interesting to note that almost everyone has judged the report by the first eighty pages which discuss the "General Principles". This is a healthy sign, for it means that there is a general awareness that the root of all difficulties in the missionary world is not in the realm of organisation and methods but in the realm of the presuppositions on which missions are based and of the message which they proclaim. Even such seemingly organisational problems as mission-support and the recruiting of new missionaries depend finally for their solution on purely spiritual realities. However important and useful the practical suggestions in the second and third part of the report may be, the real, urgent, and even the most "practical" question is the one treated in the first part, namely : "What do missions exist for ? "

The most astonishing characteristic of this report is the naïveté of its authors regarding the real significance of their work. It would seem from their own affirmations that they are intent on producing a missionary philosophy which will be valid for the whole wide world and at least for America and Asia. But there is no evidence of any kind that they have asked themselves whether the philosophy which they produce may not after all be a very peculiar product of a rather

arbitrary group of geographically and historically conditioned individuals. Kagawa has given the diagnosis that the *Laymen's Report* is a typical product of liberalism. And it would be hard to contradict him. For it is typical of liberalism to declare itself as universal truth and to neglect its own historical and geographical limitations. The result is, of course, a fundamental contradiction in the report itself. On the one hand the commission exalts the sharing between East and West; on the other hand it proposes to transform all missions in an institution for the propaganda of certain late 19th century ideas of liberal Christian humanitarianism of the American variety. While in 1928 at Jerusalem, the missionary world demonstrated its conviction that, whenever fundamental questions of message were at stake, eastern and western Christians should meet together, in 1932 it is still taken for granted that the pronouncements of a group of Christians in one western country about the message to be delivered in Asia are more important than the convictions of men like Kagawa, Koo, Datta and many other Oriental Christians about this subject. This is a step backward rather than forward.

A similar naiveté comes out in the attitude of the report toward "theology". While it is repeatedly asserted that theological doctrine is a danger rather than a help to missions, the question is not raised whether the whole first section of the report should not be classified as doctrine of a very definite character. Here again good old liberalism is in evidence. Instead of openly saying that there are different theologies and that the commission rejects one or more of them in order to support another one, it evades the issue by contrasting theology with "the simple teachings of Christianity". It does not, however, take much knowledge of the history of thought to discover how curiously these simple teachings become mixed up in these pages with what the commission calls "the artifacts of our western brains."

It is, of course, impossible to analyse the theology of the report in this short review. (Readers who are interested should specially read John Mackay's article in the *International Review of Missions*). There is, however, one subject which may serve as illustration, namely the commission's conception and use of the term "religion".

The difficulty of getting to grips with the report on this point is due to the fact that the authors have nowhere given a clear definition of what they mean by "religion". While the most fundamental proposals which are being made are precisely in this realm, it would seem that the commission has taken it for granted, that there is a generally accepted conception of what religion is and what it is not, on which they can base their argument. But does such a generally

accepted notion exist ? Is it so certain that Confucianism is a religion and that communism is not ? Is there something sufficiently definite to fight for, which Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism and Christianity have in common as over against secularism communism or materialism ? Is it so certain that from the point of view of the Kingdom of God the average priest of the eastern religions is less of an outsider and more of an insider than the average secularised university professor ? The uncertainty in which the authors leave us in this matter reveals that they have not thought through the consequences of their own position. If they say that Christianity should "associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in other religions" and that the ultimate goal is "unity in the completest religious truth", they ought also to make clear why this process of "sharing" should be limited to the realm of what is conventionally called "religion", and why it should not become a sharing of everything under the sun.

It is a great pity that the authors have not thought through this issue, for if they had done so they would have discovered that all tolerance has its limits, they would have had to put their cards on the table and say openly at what point and why they draw the clear line between truth and error. As it is, we have a conception of religion, born in the class-room of professors of comparative religions, who would synthesise all religious phenomena and accordingly create a purely artificial idea of a religion "in which all men agree". And we are not helped one bit in the real question, which is whether in actual life there is such a thing as "religion", or whether there are only positive *religions*, all of them by their very nature bound to be absolutist and therefore in principle exclusive, all of them therefore in the tragic situation that they dare not and cannot compromise unless they would give up their very essence. The more practical proposals about the right attitude to other religions, which are in many ways admirable in their insistence on taking other religions seriously, and on a decent and friendly human relationship to them would have had more significance if they were not mixed up with this confused thought about "religion" itself. It is possible to be a witness of Jesus Christ, as the unique revelation of God and as the one way, the life and the truth, without being unintelligent, impolite or unsympathetic in one's attitude to other faiths.

That the report is professorial rather than truly realistic becomes even more clear in its lack of understanding of the true forces of the modern world. One should compare Kagawa's vision of the nature of the gigantic struggle of Christianity with such pagan forces as communism and nationalism, Datta's picture of the impending

social revolutions in *Asiatic Asia*, Paul Schütz's call to repentance for the whole missionary world or the articles about the explosive possibilities in the student situation of China and Japan in this number of *The Student World*, with the same statements in the *Laymen's Report* about communism and nationalism, about the relations of Christianity to the state or about social conditions in general. Are missions, such as proposed by this report, going to stand the coming "Storm over Asia"? To ask the question is to answer it. Missions will be well-advised if they listen to Kagawa rather than to the laymen, and look upon their task as one of "cross-revolution" rather than of "sharing of religious values".

V. t' H.

Die Seele des Christentums

DIE SEELE DES CHRISTENTUMS. Beiträge zum Verständnis des Christusglaubens und der Christusnachfolge in der Gegenwart. Adolf Köberle. *Furche-Verlag, Berlin.* geh. RM 5.90, geb. RM 6.80.

Die Aufsätze, die der Baseler Theologieprofessor und Altfreund der Deutschen C.S.V., Adolf Köberle, in diesem Band veröffentlicht, dienen alle dem Zweck, an der Schliessung der bedrohlichen Kluft zwischen theologischer Wissenschaft und Gemeinde mitzuhelpen. Angesichts der heissen Geisterschlacht, in der wir stehen, erscheint dem Verfasser nichts verderblicher, als dass Kirche und Theologie vollends auseinanderbrechen könnten. Darum richtet er sich als Theologe ganz bewusst in erster Linie an den gebildeten Laien; er vermeidet das schwer verständliche Deutsch der Hohen Schule und spricht vielmehr eine allgemein verständliche Sprache, wobei ihm seine grosse Fähigkeit zu klarer und bildhafter Formulierung schwieriger Erkenntnisse sehr zustatten kommt. Der nichtdeutsche Leser, der sich mit deutschem christlichen Denken vertraut machen will, wird daher mit Nutzen gerade zu diesen Aufsätzen greifen.

Der Leser wird gleichsam auf einen kühnen, umfassenden Erkundungs- und Kampfflug in das Kriegsgebiet des modernen Geistes mitgenommen. Entscheidende Höhen und Tiefen des Kampfgeländes werden erforscht, der Aufmarsch der Streitkräfte auf seiten des lebendigen Christentums sowohl wie der gegnerischen Mächte wird in seiner Ausdehnung und Gliederung festgestellt, und in das Ringen wird entschlossen eingegriffen.

So zeigt Köberle in dem das Ganze eröffnenden Aufsatz: „Was ist Wahrheit?“ — neben der neuschaffenden Wirkung der Erlösungstat

Jesu Christi für unsere sittliche Urteilskraft — auch Wege zur Verwirklichung *wissenschaftlicher* Erkenntnis aus dem Glauben heraus, nicht ohne ganz unmissverständliche, praktische Hinweise auf die Demut des Herzens und die sittliche Zucht, die dazu gehören. Seine biblisch begründete Anschauung der Einheit von Geist, Seele und Leib lässt ihn die hochmütige Einbildung von der Souveränität des Geistes und seine einseitige Pflege durch ein intellektuelles Zeitalter ablehnen. Von der Ganzheitlichkeit der menschlichen Natur aus nimmt er vielmehr die Leibgebundenheit, die Erdhaftigkeit, die Schicksalsprägung unseres menschlichen Seins ganz ernst, bis hin zur Anerkennung der Möglichkeit astraler Einflüsse in dem höchst interessanten Beitrag „Modernes Schicksalsforschen und christlicher Gottesglaube“. Er wird von da her dankbar für das unsagbar grosse Geschenk der bildhaften, vorbildhaften Erscheinung des Wortes im Fleisch — in dem Aufsatz über „Reformation und Erziehung“ — und begreift es als das Wesen der Kunst, dass sie in ihrer Weise die Schöpfungssprache Gottes nachspricht („Religion und Kunst“). Verbindet ihn in all dem vieles mit modernen Anschauungen, so trennt ihn doch die unbedingte Gründung allen wahrhaften Lebens auf die Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes in der Gemeinde und ihren lebendigen Gliedern von jenen allen, die immameante Geister zu Lebensträgern machen wollen. Es ist kein leeres Wort, wenn er gelegentlich ausruft: „Das Schicksal unserer Zeit wird sich am dritten Glaubensartikel entscheiden“.

Den mächtigen Schlussakkord des Buches bildet die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Judentum und den ausserchristlichen Religionen im allgemeinen. Die erstere, in den beiden Aufsätzen „Der Messias, ist die Hoffnung Israels“ und „Die Seele des Christentums“ durchgeführt, ist zur Zeit besonders wichtig. Köberle verurteilt rückhaltlos die „hasserfüllte Verachtung alles Jüdischen“, die „die Rasse über die Offenbarung und das Blut über die Freiheit der Wege Gottes“ stellt; er verurteilt ebenso stark „das schwärmerisch dekadente Nachlaufen und Verherrlichen alles Jüdischen“, indem er auf den ersten Satz eines alten lutherischen Theologen, Vilmar, verweist: „Abgefallene Offenbarungsvölker sind schlechter als alle andern“. Es ist etwas Furchtbares um die zersetzende Wirkung des ungläubig gewordenen Judentums! Köberle stellt die unbedingte Zusammengehörigkeit des Alten und Neuen Testamentes fest, da der reine Gottesglaube des Evangeliums steht und fällt mit dem *majestatisch-heiligen* Gottesbild, dem redenden und dem *in der Zeit wunderbar handelnden* Gott Israels. Dessen Erfüllung ist Christus, in dem Gott gesprochen hat und in Ewigkeit zum Menschen spricht, der durch ein vollkommenes Opfer die Heiligkeit des Herrn der Welt

versöhnt hat und der die ersehnte neue Welt, das Reich der erlösten Kreatur herbeibringt. Darum ist die Aufgabe der Gemeinde an Israel das Zeugnis von Jesus dem Christus, die missionarische Werbung zur Gemeinschaft der Gläubigen.

J. M.

A Farewell to the Social Gospel

MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY, Reinhold Niebuhr. *Charles Scribner's Sons.* New York 1932. Price \$ 2.00.

The importance of Niebuhr's last book consists in its negative rather than in its positive aspects. But the negative job which he has accomplished is so very timely that his contribution remains nevertheless of unique historical significance for Christian thought.

Niebuhr fights against two fronts: on the one hand utopian liberalism ("the social gospel" which does not mean social Christian thought in general but rather its early twentieth century variety among theological liberals), on the other hand utopian political radicalism. But since the first ideology is so much more strongly represented in his country, he uses his sharpest weapons against it. The result is an indictment of the hypocrisies and superficialities of the social thought and ethics of modernism which will probably prove to be fatal to it. For even if its older representatives may raise their hands in horror before Niebuhr's "defeatism", it is likely that the younger generation will find his arguments sufficiently convincing and irrefutable to say "farewell to the social gospel" and to seek a more realistic basis for its Christian social action.

Apart from this much needed polemical contribution Niebuhr has, however, rendered another important service. It is that he has given us an astonishingly keen analysis of the ethical, semi-ethical and unethical forces which together make up our confused modern civilisation. We are blessed with many text-books on ethics which have about as much relation to the real modern world as Hollywood-films have to real life, and we have also untold surveys of the social and political components of our modern disorder which conceive of man as no more than an eating and fighting animal. But few, indeed, are the books which combine a deep insight into ethical motivation with a broad knowledge of the hard facts of humanity's struggle for existence.

Dare we add that apart from striking a death-blow at liberal romanticism and from giving an incisive description of our ethical impotence, Niebuhr has also indicated the outline of a more adequate

Christian ethic ? It is unfortunately impossible to answer this question positively. In fact, wherever the author attempts to go beyond the realm of polemics or description he remains disappointingly vague and general. It is practically impossible to discover from his book what are his own religious assumptions or what is his own conception of Christian social ethics. At times one even wonders whether he considers Christianity as more than a useful "illusion" and whether he does not fall in the very "liberal" error of a purely spectatorial attitude to the Christian faith. If we would not know it from his other writings we would certainly not find out from this book that he has a definite theology of his own.

Niebuhr makes it therefore difficult for his critics to judge him fairly. Until he speaks out more definitely regarding the content of his faith and the nature of his ethics he is almost bound to be misunderstood. He has told us in recent articles that "as a Christian he looks at history from the perspective of the absolute", that "we are living in a world of sin" and, "that a significant element in the Christian religion is the assurance of grace in which imperfect man anticipates through divine mercy a perfection which he can see and to which he feels himself obligated, but which he cannot realise". But these statements need to be implemented and related to his conceptions of social justice and social morality which seem so far to be suspended in mid-air. As it is he leaves too easily the impression (which he wants precisely to avoid) that his theology and his ethics have little to do with each other and that he has not yet overcome the old liberal Adam in his own mind, who would at all costs refrain from committing himself to definite theological convictions.

If Niebuhr goes this next step, will he not discover that the real cause of weakness of liberal religion is not that it forgets to distinguish between the individual and society, but rather that it lacks a realistic appreciation of both because it does not measure the distance between time and eternity, between relative and absolute, in short because it is caught in a finite world ?

Niebuhr has an extraordinarily widespread influence among students. Many look rightly upon him as the leader of the advance-guard of younger Christians in America. It is therefore a matter of very great importance in what direction his mind travels. We believe that it is the right direction, although we would like to see him go further. And we hope that he will some day show us the way to a new "social gospel" which will neither distort the Gospel nor the facts of society, but which will unite a substantial Christian faith with a great passion for a Christian social order.

V. 't H.

Non-Roman Catholicism

LE CATHOLICISME NON-ROMAIN, Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, *Cahiers de Foi et Vie*. Paris, 1933. 130 pp.

(An English edition with the title "Anglicanism and Orthodoxy, A Protestant Evaluation" will soon be published by the S.C.M. Press, London.)

Many good books have been published recently, which deal with the crucial problem of Christian denominationalism and with the task of Church Reunion, and yet there is something quite unique about this small volume. It is even possible that later historians will regard its publication as a landmark in the relations between the Churches.

There are several things in the book which make it profoundly revolutionary and stimulating:

1. Dr. 't Hooft has described a large section of the Christian Church, which for various reasons has been practically unknown to the Christian world at large.

2. The description of this new field bears every sign of a genuine understanding of its nature. It is not a theoretical text-book-approach to another type of Church-life, but real first-hand knowledge of it.

3. The discovery of the vital significance of the Eastern Orthodox Church and of the Catholic part of the Church of England for modern Christianity, has been made by a convinced Calvinist, who does not wish to identify himself with the teaching of the Christians whom he describes, but who, in spite of this, has found a language in common with this Catholic section of the Church.

It would take too long to attempt to explain how it came about that Christians have acquired a habit of thinking about the life of the Church in terms of eternal opposition between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. This misconception of the Church is probably due both to the inclination of the human mind to think in terms of clear-cut, easily grasped contrasts, which of course tends to artificial simplification and to some particular events in the history of the Church, which have led to an isolation and even concealment of the above-mentioned sections of Christian thought and life. One ought to mention here, for instance, the political history of the eastern Christians, who were deprived for centuries of the possibilities of free intercourse with the Church of the West. The latter, on the other hand, had little knowledge of the language

of the former, so that a wide-spread suspicion and mistrust existed between representatives of these two sections of Christendom. Consequently the Eastern Orthodox Church has remained very unreal, almost non-existent to the outside world and its actual existence only begins to be realised in our days.

Almost the same thing has happened with the Catholic section of the Church of England. The comparatively recent development of the Anglo-Catholic movement and the inner struggle which it has caused have prevented other Christian communions from understanding it aright.

This Non-Roman Catholicism is now going through a most decisive period in its history, for it is becoming conscious of itself and beginning to feel that the time is ripe for it to take independent action in the field of inter-Church relations. Rightly or wrongly its leaders claim to stand for a conception of the Church which is nearest to the undivided Church, and there are many signs that in the near future this body of Christians will occupy a very prominent place in the life of the Christian world.

The other two characteristics of the book, which I have mentioned at the beginning, are no less important. In the past the Church was identified with its theology. A detailed knowledge of textbooks dealing with points of doctrine was considered as the only criterion of understanding the life of another confession. Dr. 't Hooft is completely free from this misconception. He bases his theses on quite different material, which has been collected not in libraries but in personal intercourse with members of other Churches. He has lived and worshipped with the Anglicans and the Eastern Orthodox and he reveals in his book things which can only be grasped through real Christian fellowship, and which often escape the authors of the most learned and carefully drawn treatises. As a member of the Eastern Orthodox Church, who has lived for the last four years in close fellowship with Anglicans, I feel that Dr. 't Hooft really understands those whom he attempts to describe and that he really does express their point of view, as they regard themselves, and not as they are usually represented by outsiders.

The question arises : on what common ground could Dr. 't Hooft meet the non-Roman Catholics and where he finds the point of contact between them and his Calvinism ? It may seem presumptuous for me to go into such an analysis, but it is possible that in addition to an exceptional gift of observation shown by the author, there are also some objective elements in his approach, which contribute considerably to the success of the book. This is primarily due to the firm doctrinal ground on which Dr. 't Hooft bases his

convictions. He understands the importance of Christian dogma and he believes in the Incarnation. Therefore to him the Church is not a merely human institution, but a Body created by God Himself. Dr. 't Hooft stands far from sharing the non-Roman Catholic conception of the Church, but he considers it seriously, for he admits that it is God Who rules His Church and that all these divergences in the interpretation of the Church could not even happen unless it were in part, at least, His will. "We must learn to understand one another and to be prepared to listen to God's voice through the experience of other Christians, even if we are not able to understand and appreciate their beliefs". This sentence seems to me to express the fundamental idea in the author's mind and I feel sure that he has found the right approach to the problem of the Church and its Reunion.

Dr. 't Hooft is a Calvinist, but he is a Calvinist who has begun to understand and appreciate Catholicism and this is undoubtedly a sign of a new epoch in the history of the Church. It is also a most convincing proof that Christians will only be able to live in the One, Holy and Catholic Church, when they are faithful to the best traditions of their present confessions, and above all else when they begin to be really obedient to the will of Our Lord, their one Master. Dr. 't Hooft has discovered the proper approach to the ecumenical problem. Let us trust that his example will be followed by the new generation of Christians who wish to work for the realisation of Church Unity.

N. Z.

Notes on Contributors and Articles

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WILLIAM MARTIN, until recently foreign editor of the *Journal de Genève*, is now visiting China. His syndicated articles on the Chinese situation have attracted much attention. Upon his return he will teach history at the Polytechnical High-School at Zürich.

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MITSUAKI KAKEHI, until recently general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Japan, is now giving full time to literary work.

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GEORGE BOIS teaches philosophy at a French government school in Indo-China. He is a former member of the French S.C.M.

C. L. VAN DOORN was sent out in 1922 to Java by the Dutch S.C.M. to assist in the building up of a S.C.M. in Java. The article by Mr. Moelia in the Chronicle gives a picture of the results of his work.

T. S. MOELIA comes from the Batak country (Sumatra). He has been a member of the Representative Council of the Dutch East Indies and has just completed studies of pedagogy and law in Holland. He represented Java at the General Committee of the Federation in Holland.

The writers of the book reviews are Dr. Joachim Müller of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A., Dr. Nicholas Zernoff of the Russian and British Student Christian Movements, and the editor.